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THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY AND THE TEACHER

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no 1

To
MY CHILDREN

As a token of my earnest effort to understand and inspire
them;
In gratitude for all that they have taught me;
And in the hope that it may help them to be better parents
than their father—

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

PREFACE

THIS volume is based on a course of lectures delivered by the author to educationalists under the auspices of the Tavistock Clinic for Functional Nerve Cases. The interest aroused by the lectures, and the appreciation expressed, seemed to warrant their appearance in the present form; but a few words of explanation are necessary.

These chapters are addressed not only to those who are professional teachers, but to the wider public of those whose business in life calls them to share in the teaching of the young. They do not restrict themselves to modern analytical psychology, but, as the reader will see, they cover a certain amount of the older psychology that in the author's opinion merits emphasis. As far as the newer views are concerned, it will be seen that no attempt is made either to present the views of one school exclusively, nor yet to gloss over the differences between the two schools of Vienna and Zürich. The existence of these differences is of fundamental importance in two directions. In the first place, it is not

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recognized by many who follow the literature of psycho-analysis how completely contrasted are the philosophies implied by the teaching of the two schools. The "thorough-going determinism" of Freud is far removed from the free will implicit in all Jung's work.

In the second place, the existence of these differences is the very obvious justification of a detached and critical attitude. It is a matter for regret, though not for surprise, that this justification is not recognized by the founders of either school, and that they follow the example of most pioneers in resisting compromise and criticism alike.

Educationalists are, above all, people entitled to exert freedom of criticism; for their interest is focused at a point where many paths meet: art and philosophy, body and mind, memory and imagination, science and religion—these are only a few of the paths that converge in their sphere. To offer to educationalists a panacea or a master key is to write oneself down an arrogant fanatic! It is to be hoped that these pages, in spite of a note of dogmatism that the reader may recognize, will be read as the contribution of a physician who is profoundly convinced that his sphere of action is and must always be of secondary importance. To the writer the application

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of psychological methods to the cure of nervous disorders is to their application in education as the cure of consumption is to its prevention. But consumption can only be prevented through the efforts of those who understand at least something of the laws involved in its treatment. It is not necessary that they should have been patients in a sanatorium. At the same time, three facts emerge from the analogy which are worth consideration. First, the pathologists tell us that nearly every town dweller, however healthy he may appear to be, harbours the tubercle bacillus. Similarly every educationalist, be he never so well-adjusted, harbours repressions that are potentially harmful. Secondly, every one engaged in the prevention of phthisis would profit from, or does profit from, those hygienic measures that constitute his propaganda. In like manner, there is not a school-teacher, nor yet a parent, who would not profit in his or her mental life from those principles of mental hygiene which this volume is meant to outline. Finally, the work of preventing tuberculosis is too vast and too pressing to be relegated exclusively to those who have had the experience of tubercular disease and sanatorium treatment. In the same way the application of analytical psychology to the needs

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of the young is too urgent and too extensive to be committed to the few, who by reason of a nervous breakdown or otherwise have had the privilege of sane analytical treatment.

Those who share the writer's conviction, that it is for the new generation that the new teaching is most important, will also share his impatience with the obstructionists. Analytical views have spread so rapidly in the last eighteen years that the reactionaries will soon be negligible. But, as happens in every new movement with unfailing certainty, the more serious obstruction comes from within. It comes from the jealousy of the pioneers and their immediate followers, who, with the conscious motive of safeguarding the movement, proclaim loudly and indignantly that no one can heal who has not himself been healed, that no one can initiate who has not himself been initiated, and that no one can preach who has not been ordained. The unconscious motive of the caste seems to elude the analyst's self-scrutiny, and he offers a sorry advertisement of his own vaunted adjustment and freedom from complexes when in slightly altered phraseology he protests: "Master, we saw one casting out devils in Thy name, and we forbade him, because he followeth not us." If we are anywise fit to

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be teachers of the young, we shall recognize that no knowledge, creed, shibboleth, nor initiation can qualify us for our task, but primarily that vision which allows us to perceive the child's needs, his difficulties, and his possibilities. In the hope that these chapters may contribute at least in a small measure to that clearer vision, they are offered to teachers who are yet content to be learners. I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Miss L. V. Southwell, M.A., who has fulfilled the function, not only of an efficient and untiring secretary, but also of a most clear-sighted collaborator. To my wife I owe the debt which every writer owes to a critic who is both candid and constructive.

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NOTE

THE substance of this book was contained in a course of lectures to teachers and others, given under the auspices of the Tavistock Clinic for Functional Nerve Cases, during the Spring Term, 1921. Some fresh material has been added.

It is proposed to issue shortly two similar volumes entitled, *The New Psychology and the Parent* and *The Psychology and the Preacher*. These books are intended for different groups of readers, and they will be similar as regards some of the subject matter. They will differ in presentation and in the subject matter of the remainder. The additional matter in *The New Psychology and the Preacher* will be based upon a series of lectures delivered at Mirfield and at Westminster College, Cambridge.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTORY

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY AND PSYCHO-ANALYSIS.

IN WHAT SENSE IS IT "NEW?"

Not in the sense of conflicting with all pre-existing theories.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY TO EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS.

WHAT HAS THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY TO OFFER THE TEACHER?

Not a magical solution.

Analysis not applicable to the normal child.

Analysis and self-knowledge.

TEST OF ITS VALUE:

Power to give the child spiritual freedom.

Power to help the child in three ways.

PURPOSE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE BOOK.

INTRODUCTORY

THE title of this book needs a brief explanation. To some people it will suggest a disingenuous evasion of the word "psycho-analysis." The term has been avoided out of respect for the limits to its application laid down by the Freudian School, who hold that "The Freudian theory and technique, and these alone, constitute psycho-analysis."¹ While recognizing the infinite debt which psychologists owe to the pioneer work of Freud, in discovering and applying the psycho-analytic method, the writer is unable to accept all the conclusions of the Freudian theory, and finds himself therefore debarred from using the term in its technical sense.

Some critics will suggest that the principles discussed in this book ought not to be labelled "new." The psychological method which is outlined will seem to them merely an elaborate way of arriving at familiar conclusions. It should therefore be stated at the outset that this psychology is not "new" in the sense of

¹ *Psycho-analysis*, by Barbara Low. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1920. p. 10.

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conflicting with all pre-existing theories. On the contrary its conclusions have often reaffirmed those which the experience of mankind has long ago evolved and treasured. It is undeniable that analytical psychology repeats a good deal of the wisdom of the nursery; many of the dictates of common sense that "continuous experience of the real"; and it often follows with slow feet to a goal which the insight of poets and prophets reached at a bound. But if it is not always revolutionary, its method is sufficiently distinct from that of the academic psychology to justify and demand the use of the word "new." No one who has studied its conceptions can fail to realize that they introduce a fresh era into psychological thought. Lastly, we may perhaps borrow a reflection from an exponent of "the new discipline," and take refuge in the thought that "The people who seek to prove that things are not new are usually those who have not the smallest intention of making use of them, whether new or old."¹

While it is true that the outlook of analytical psychology does not invariably lead to

¹ *The Child's Path to Freedom*, by Norman MacMunn. G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1921. p. 52.

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new conclusions, it certainly leads to some which are sharply opposed to accepted theories, and educational methods have been heavily criticized from the standpoint of clinical psychology. In defence of the clinical psychologist's intrusion into educational questions, it must be pointed out that he has to deal with many of the products of educational failure: they constitute a more effective criticism than any he could invent. And if it is argued that the study of psycho-pathology unfits one for the understanding of normal types, it must be pointed out that while psychology remained with its attention fixed upon normal mental processes, it made no startling advance; and that the infusion of new life into it came from the medical psychologist's investigation of the phenomena of abnormality.

We pass on to ask what it is that the new psychology has to offer to the teacher. What are they looking for—these people who flock to meetings on psycho-analysis, and invest in books on the new psychology? Some of them are unmistakably in search of a swift and magical solution of educational problems. The burden of their profession weighs heavily upon them, and the word has gone round that the new knowledge has an answer to all its

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difficulties. This is of course a vain quest. There is no magical and external solution to such problems as confront the teacher, and no formula that will suddenly make him master of the intricacies of the child's mind.

Some approach the new psychology mainly with the idea of analysing the children they teach. The writer is convinced that this should not be the purpose of its study. The analysis of the child and of the adolescent is the most delicate task that can be assayed. It is not required in the case of the normal child; and the abnormal child should never be exposed to amateur analysis. There is a symbol which constantly occurs in dreams—the symbol of the tooth. It represents the individual's equipment for life, and especially his mental equipment, of which a small part is visible, and the greater part unseen and rooted in the unconscious. We may make use of it to emphasize our present point. The child's teeth represent only a temporary adjustment to life, but the dentist knows that they need to be handled with extraordinary care; otherwise the permanent teeth that should follow will be impaired. The mental adjustment of the child or the adolescent needs to be treated with equal caution.

The study of the unconscious mind may of

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course do much to quicken the teacher's power of observation and understanding of the child's mental processes; but even this is not the greatest service it can render. Its chief value lies, not in the direct light that it throws on the child, but in its application to the teacher's own psychology. It is like the indirect illumination used in microscope work: the light is not thrown on the object that is being studied, but upon a reflector, which needs to be at the correct angle. The chief gain which the teacher may look for from his study of the subject is this kind of illumination of his own mind, a new power of self-knowledge which will give him a clearer sight and a greater freedom of action in helping the child.

The test of the value of a study of analytical psychology lies in its ability to increase the teacher's power to give the child spiritual freedom. The Freudian School of Psycho-Analysis claims to have established the fact of a "thorough-going determinism in the mental sphere." This is not the place to examine the evidence for this view. Let us grant that the sense of spontaneity in human life may be an illusion. If this is so, it is an illusion which the writer believes that all education-ists would do well to cherish very jealously.

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It seems to him an essential part of the equipment of the teacher or parent who sets out to make it possible for his children to attain to spiritual freedom. In working towards this goal, the first service that analytical psychology can render is, as has been said, the freeing of the teacher's own mental and emotional life from bias and repression. Furthermore, it can increase his power to help the child in three principal ways—in his adjustment to reality, in his adjustment to authority and to the herd, and in his sex education.

The conception outlined above of the way in which analytical psychology can be of the greatest service to the teacher sets definite limits to the scope of this book. Its purpose is to answer some of the questions of those who are asking what is implied by the analytical standpoint towards oneself, and education, and life in general. The study of analytical psychology has clearly reached a point at which it has become part of the thought of educated people; and it is no longer possible, even if it were desirable, to regard it as the exclusive concern of specialists and their patients. Any one who speaks on this subject may be sure of applause if he remarks that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. This is unquestionably true of the new psychology; but it is

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also true that a little vision is a great deal better than total blindness. Those whose business it is to study the development of the child should be least of all likely to confuse the little vision with the thorough understanding, or to underrate the intricacy of the process of analysis. This book offers no encouragement to its readers to assume the functions of the psycho-analysts. Nor is it intended to suggest that self-analysis has more than a limited value. When all is said, however, it is only a minority who will have the opportunity of being analyzed: the majority will have to create their own experience of analysis for themselves. That experience, especially if it is a rather silent process, may be of great value. It will not be entirely pleasing to the individual concerned, and those who are not serious will have no inducement to go far with it; for, unlike the more sociable and conversational methods of taking an interest in psycho-analysis, it demands hard work and perseverance. It is with the idea of assisting some such experience as this that the writer has accepted the responsibility of promoting "a little knowledge."

One further point should be mentioned. The limits of the book have made it unavoidable that some subjects should be touched upon

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with a misleading degree of simplicity. This is particularly true of the points at which references have been made to the therapeutic aspect of analytical psychology. For example, no mention whatever has been made to the principle of psycho-physical interaction and to the part played by the physical factor in neurosis. This omission is typical of others which are equally deliberate; but the attention of the reader should be drawn to the limitations in the scope of the book.

CHAPTER II
AUTHORITY AND SUGGESTIBILITY

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EDUCATION:

- The two aspects.
- Their place in educational theories—
 - The old regime.
 - Froebel.
 - Montessori.
- The goal of education.
- Urge to completeness.

SUGGESTIBILITY: ¹

- Suggestion defined and illustrated.
- Its function in childhood.
- Its use and abuse in the adult.

THE CHILD'S EXPERIENCE OF AUTHORITY:

- The ultra-suggestible.
- The rebel.
- The unconscious motive for and against authority.

THE TEACHER'S EXERCISE OF AUTHORITY:

- The unconscious motive for and against it.
- The instinct of patronage.
- The fear of being ousted.
- The potter and the clay.
- The use of analytical psychology.

¹ The term *suggestibility* is used throughout this chapter in the sense distinguished by Baudouin as *acceptivity*, v. *Suggestion and Auto-suggestion*, by Charles Baudouin. Geo. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1920.

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THERE are roughly two aspects to education: the one, the transmission of racial experience; the other, the development of the individual psyche. Each makes a different demand upon the child; and, if the teacher is to get below the surface in his educational methods, it is essential that he should set himself to realize the meaning of these demands that are made by himself or others, and also to understand the nature of the child's reaction to them. These two aspects of education, the presentation of authority and the presentation of reality, will be discussed in this and the following chapter.

Before entering upon this discussion, something must be said of the general nature of the educational process as it appears to-day. A very rough survey of the recent history of education is enough to show that even the effective recognition of the two-fold function of education is a notable advance. There still remain many traces of an era in which all the emphasis was laid on the transmission of learning and experience, the child be-

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ing at best but a passive recipient of these blessings. These were the days of enforced attention, when education was primarily a matter of discipline. The liberating influence of Froebel brought in a better era: the child's interest was no longer to be forced, but to be set free; and the most successful teacher was he who was most competent in stimulating the interest of the child. Since then, yet another revolutionary change has been taking place, and the old conception of discipline has undergone a fresh transformation. The experiments of Madame Montessori have revealed the amazing rapidity and the extraordinary ease with which a child who has been allowed his freedom in a suitable environment acquires the necessary knowledge with the minimum of restraint. These changes have redressed the balance in the conception of education. It is realized now that the development of the individual psyche is a far more important thing than the mere acquisition of knowledge; that the mediate experience which has been handed on to the child with such a gesture of beneficence is really far less time-saving, and far less valuable than the immediate experience which he gains for himself, if he is put in an environ-

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ment in which he can gain it fairly easily and fairly cheaply.

The two aspects of education emphasize, respectively, interest, producing self-expression; and attention, developing self-control. An educational system which is based upon the former principle amounts to a challenge to our whole outlook on the individual's life. It is useless to apply the theories of freedom and responsibility to the first years of a child's life and then to place him in an environment which demands of him first and foremost that he should submit to routine and drudgery. If a boy is to be sent to a public school with a perfectly rigid and stereotyped curriculum, and if he is afterwards to be drafted into the business or profession which has been chosen for him by his parents, it might well be argued that his education should from the first be frankly dedicated to the object of controlling his attention and ignoring his interest. But if there is any faith in the possibility of the child finding a career in which he can truly express himself, then it would appear equally logical and consistent to direct his education along lines that may possibly lead to a lesser capacity for drudgery, but an infinitely greater power of self-expression, and a greater self to express.

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In contending that the primary emphasis in education should lie upon spontaneous interest, it is not necessary to underestimate the value of attention. The clinical psychologist has special opportunities of realizing the importance of this factor in the individual's equipment for life. Failure to develop adequate power of attentive control often manifests itself in later life in ill-health of body and mind, and it falls to the physician to correct it as best he may by a process of re-education. The neurotic patient is often the victim of indecision: he cannot make up his mind on any subject; he has lost all will-power. The tendency in modern psychology is to make will and attention synonymous; and it is a tendency which is supported by the experience of psychotherapists. The temperament that is sometimes contemptuously dismissed as "neurotic" is often endowed with great gifts and capabilities, which have been allowed to run to waste for lack of the necessary training. Much can be done in later life by a careful technique of re-education; but the original failure in the early training of the faculties of attentive control has been responsible for much irretrievable loss both in individual happiness and social usefulness.

In the light of these discoveries, how is the

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goal of the child's development to be conceived? We may speak of it broadly as self-realization, using the term to include the complete adjustment of the individual to life in all its aspects. Towards this goal the child is impelled by an energy which is not derived from the influence of parents or teachers, or from any external source. The impulse towards growth is simply the primary biological urge to completeness which is found in every living thing. We come into the world with it, and it remains as the constant impulse towards a goal which is only attained when we reach maturity, and either express or sublimate all our instinctive ambitions and potentialities. It is not primarily spiritual, but biological, and it is largely unconscious. It follows that a great deal of the child's growth, a great many of his ambitions and aspirations, are directed towards the primary, central and perfectly unconscious motive of ultimate parenthood, because this is the essential biological expression of maturity. The human herd has become so complex and bewildering a thing that this great fact of parenthood, being the token and visible symbol of maturity, is largely obscured. Moreover, the human ideal of development is not purely biological, but has become enriched by ethical, social, and

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religious conceptions. In spite of this, the original, biological nature of the impulse to growth and to completeness is not to be ignored.

It is evident that, though this principle of growth is universal, it is not irresistible. It is infinitely liable to hindrance and deviation and delay at all points. The child's development towards completeness is very easily thwarted. If the urge to maturity is primarily biological, the barriers in its way seem to be almost invariably psychological; and for these barriers parents and teachers are commonly responsible. We put up a barrier when we restrain children unnecessarily; when we put difficulties in the way of their self-expression; when without reason we demand that they should inhibit interest and activity which seem to them to be perfectly harmless. This is the barrier of authority. The second barrier is raised when we offer to the child a world that is too harsh, too puzzling and too difficult for its powers of adjustment. This is the barrier of reality. These are the two great problems for the child; and the test of his achievement is whether, when he reaches maturity, he has made the three great practical adjustments that life demands: the adjustment to society; the adjustment to the mate (actual or poten-

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tial) ; and the adjustment to the Infinite. Failure at either of these points speaks of hindered development and the falling-short of complete self-realization.

The conception of education that has been outlined above is one that underlies the studies in this book. For the sake of clearness it seemed well to state it at the outset, though in a somewhat brief and dogmatic form. It is hoped that the rest of the book explains and amplifies it, and gives to the reader opportunities of criticizing it in a more detailed form.

Returning to the two aspects of education—the transmission of racial experience and the development of the individual psyche—we find that there are two characteristics of childhood that demand special study: the first is suggestibility, and the second is phantasy. Both have a genetic value; both are associated with development; and both, like the thymus gland, should entirely, or to a great extent, vanish by the time that the individual reaches maturity. Both tend to persist, and their persistence spells discord and inefficiency in the adult. This can generally be traced to some failure in the environment or upbringing of the individual; and since the teacher may be responsible for this, he needs to understand

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the function of these two characteristics. The present chapter deals with the first—suggestibility, which is concerned with the child's reaction to authority.

Suggestibility¹ may be defined as the attainment of a state of mind or the execution of an act upon an inadequate rational basis. It is, in other words, blind acceptance of authority in any form. We speak of the suggestibility of primitive peoples; but a more obvious instance is our own susceptibility to the power of advertisement. The whole function of the advertisement manager, the salesman and the auctioneer, is to exploit the tendency to buy goods upon an inadequate rational basis. Equally obvious is the suggestibility of readers of the daily press, who accept opinions on politics, religion, art, or amusement, with the minimum of independent investigation. Nevertheless, in so far as we are mature, we suppose ourselves to have attained to the power of independent judgment, and to be no longer exposed to the abuses of suggestibility. There are some who are so much alive to these dangers that they would try to demand, even from the child, that his thought and action should be founded entirely upon a consciously rational basis. In so doing, they ignore an

¹ *v. supra*, p. 24, note.

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important psychological distinction between the child and the adult. If the child is influenced by the injunction that he shall wait until the 'bus stops before dismounting, he is manifesting a degree of suggestibility that is entirely advantageous both to himself and to the community. Suggestibility in the child has a genetic value, which lies in the possibility of transmitting rapidly to a child a great amount of racial experience, while he is still incapable of fully apprehending the rational basis of it. It is the substitution of mediate for immediate experience. We save him from breaking his neck by remembering our own early experiments in falling off a 'bus, and all the later considerations which have taught us to seek safety first. We cannot expect the child to apprehend the significance of the law of the conservation of energy, or any other restraining thought, when he is solely engaged with the idea of leaving the 'bus at the point nearest to the Zoo. Neither can we expect the child to take into consideration the demands of the herd. If he goes from the dining-room to the nursery, his one preoccupation is to get there. He sees no reason to waste time in stopping to shut the door; he has no objection to open doors: why should grown-ups? We rightly make use of suggestion to claim from

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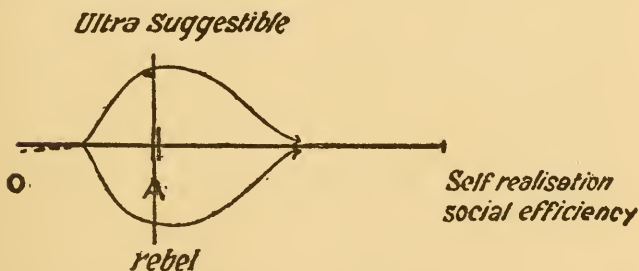
the child a compliance with the demands of the herd, for which he can realize no adequate reason. The two facts in the child's position which demand the use of suggestion are, therefore, first, his inexperience of causal relations; and secondly, his inability to apprehend the claims of the community. Neither of these conditions should apply to the adult, but there are some who, in the latter respect, remain children all their lives. They prate about the liberty of the individual; they whine over the income-tax; they fail at every point to visualize the reciprocal obligation of the unit and the herd. Most adults get past this stage of development, and grasp the collective aim of society. But it is only a minority that gets beyond that, to the parental view, which implies the readiness to sacrifice self-interest, not only for the social demands of this generation, but also, and still more so, for those of the next. Thus the child has to pass from an individual aim in life to a collective aim. But his judgment undergoes the reverse transformation: he begins by being subject to the opinion of the elders who constitute his environment; gradually this subjection should give way to an individual judgment in all matters that are vital. If we set ourselves primarily to fashion his conduct, we shall abuse his sug-

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gestibility, and stunt the growth of his discrimination; if we ignore behaviour, and deal exclusively with his reason, we shall waste much precious time, risk many disasters, and produce a citizen of doubtful value. It must be our aim, therefore, to bring up children so that they respect all racial experience, and at the same time learn, in due course, to challenge all authority. Authority must not be regarded as ultimately binding, nor must it be disregarded without respectful consideration.

The destiny of the child is social efficiency; the problem of the child is psychical freedom; the obstacle to the child is authority; and the test of every child's development is his final attitude towards racial experience.

The progress of the child towards this goal may be roughly represented in a diagram. The



child starts from O on his journey, and at A meets the gate of authority. If that gate is

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open, he passes straight on towards his goal. If it be shut, or insufficiently open, and he fails to pass through, his path deviates in one or two directions: either he becomes ultra-suggestible, and continues to accept authority in a childish way, or else he becomes the heretic, who rebels, with an equal failure of individual judgment, against all forms of authority. Whichever of these alternatives result from the clash with authority, the individual sets himself to weave a myth, the strands of which are inextricably mingled with his every thought and action. He cannot accept the truth involved in his situation, and therefore he has to explain away to himself his tendency to react too much or too little to authority. He has to satisfy himself that his undue plasticity in the face of authority is not what it seems, but a rational attitude; or that his undue resistance to every form of authority is based on the superiority of his own judgment.

These two types—the ultra-suggestible and the rebel—must be perfectly familiar to every observer of human nature. The ultra-suggestible responds inevitably to the opinion of the majority, and to the ruling of fashion which is accepted by the group in which he moves. He may be led thus to become a supporter of the Established Church, and a rep-

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representative of political and social decorum. This is perhaps his natural home, for he is conscious of the support of a large body of opinion among his fellow-countrymen. But people whose lot is cast among minorities and heresies may be equally influenced by suggestion to embrace these opinions. They respond to the dominant authority in their immediate surroundings, and become free-thinkers and revolutionaries from sheer orthodoxy. When they come in contact with a wider circle their views may change, and they may find what seems to them an irresistible inner conviction leading them to the stronghold of a more general orthodoxy. Behind the variation of their opinions lies the constant psychological factor of suggestibility. The reverse process is seen in the individual whose reaction to authority has taken the form of the rebel tendency. He carries with him an inward resistance to all authority as such; he must always be "agin' the Government," no matter what measure is under discussion. Minorities and lost causes are his special department. In all circumstances of life his ear is unnaturally quick to catch the Tyrant-Rebel *motif*. He plays many parts; and perhaps his greatest is that of Prometheus. Defiance on behalf of the whole human race in the face of

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divine oppression is heresy on the grand scale.

It is clear enough that both these tendencies contain elements that are essential to the community. Even in their cruder forms they may be useful instruments; and they may be transformed into motives of direct service. Our immediate concern, however, is to point to their development as a product of the unwise use of authority, and to show how they invalidate judgment. The person who has been diverted from the normal path as regards his attitude to authority is likely to fall short of the full attainment of self-realization and social efficiency. His judgments and his actions cannot be accepted at their surface value: too much allowance has to be made for emotional bias. Suggestion may be used to enforce very admirable opinions; but the person who has acquired them by this process holds them in a precarious and unsatisfactory way. Judgments that are made in virtue of the heresy tendency are equally the product of a second-rate mental mechanism.

It is probable that no one can read an account of the two types without feeling a slight bias towards one or the other: a faint suspicion that the writer has been a little hard on one type, or has let one down rather lightly; a passing reflection that at least it is better that

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a child should be over-sensitive to national tradition than that he should be indifferent or hostile towards it; or perhaps a slight emotional reaction to the idea of Prometheus. In so far as this is true, our own judgment is likely to be at fault.

We have been considering the effect upon the child of his experience of authority. It leads to the consideration of unconscious motives in adult life, and we find ourselves asking, not only what opinions a person holds, but also why he holds them. The same method must be applied in considering education from the point of view of the teacher. What methods do we believe in; and why do we believe in them? In so far as we are biased towards heresy, we shall always be attracted by the new method, especially when it is most strongly opposed to the old (unless we are working under an authority so progressive that it becomes necessary to develop a heresy of reaction). It would appear a very simple matter to detect this or the opposite tendency; but it is to be remembered that what appears from without as bias, prejudice and bigotry, appears from within as rational and well-founded conviction. If it is a simple matter of good will and intention, how shall one account for the failures of education: the chil-

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dren who grow up with a permanent inability for an unbiased attitude towards authority? The keepers of the gate of authority need the clearest insight into their own motives if they are to discharge their duty fairly. The teacher's own experience of authority may be the source of his strongest bias; but there are many others. The snare of patronage is always a danger to the grown-up. We enjoy being in a position to patronize the young, and in so doing believe that we are adopting the true parental attitude towards them. That this is the attitude of many parents is only too obvious; but it is the negation of the true parental outlook, because it refuses the child the essential condition of growth, namely freedom. The snare of jealousy is no less real a danger—that jealousy of the old towards the young which is seen in every gregarious species. The old wolf has enjoyed the mastery of the pack, but when he begins to feel his teeth getting loose he realizes that his days of mastery, and therefore of life, are numbered; and he develops an inordinate desire to crush the rival whom he has hitherto regarded merely as a junior. Such an idea is so far out of keeping with our conception of ourselves as educators that it may seem a remote and unreal danger: that is to say, it is more

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likely to be an unconscious than a conscious motive. As such, it may exert an unsuspected influence on conduct.

There is another tendency which leads the teacher to the wrong use of authority: and that is the instinct of the potter to mould the clay according to his heart's desire; to be concerned primarily with the result, and to ignore the process whereby it is achieved. The use of suggestion in medicine throws some light at this point upon its use in education. The clinical psychologist can often achieve startling results by suggestive therapeutics; and in a certain amount of perfectly ethical medical work this means is rightly employed. There are nervous conditions in children and in old people for which this is the most suitable form of treatment. There are cases—certain drug addictions, for example—in which it is of great value in breaking the force of physical and mental habit, as a preliminary to cure. But the power to achieve results is not in itself justification for the choice of this method. It is one that makes use of an infantile component in the patient's mental make-up, and therefore tends to emphasize a characteristic which ought no longer to be exerting an active influence upon his adult life. In like manner, the educator may obtain great results by mak-

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ing use of the child's suggestibility. The behaviour, conduct and outward bearing of the child may be extraordinarily altered and dignified by the use of authority. Up to a certain point this is necessary and desirable; but if, as a result, the child is becoming permanently suggestible, or if the teacher is sowing the seeds of heresy and rebellion, then he is paying too high a price for the apparent improvement in behaviour, and he needs to resist the temptation to work for rapid results, just as the doctor needs to be on his guard against trading on the suggestibility of the patient to produce a rapid cure.

And, finally, as he grows older, the teacher's exercise of authority may become marked by that complacent rigidity which is of the essence of reaction. The school master of this type will cheerfully crush and mangle the character of a dull boy in forcing him through a public school entrance or responsions, because he knows nothing of education but Eton and Balliol, and because he is too blind to see that in the unequal contest self-realization is being made impossible.

It will be said that there is no need of a new psychology to discover that there are misguided teachers who fall into all these obvious perils in the use of authority, and the abuse

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of the child's suggestibility. This is true; but the reason why it is considered relevant to enumerate them here is that the new psychology has cast a fresh, and rather a lurid, light on the results of these mistakes. The clinical psychologist is confronted with the victim of educational failure, and learns the story of thwarted development and misdirected growth which lies behind his disability. The study of these cases need not blind him to the vast number of children who have passed safely along the road towards self-realization; but it does point to the existence of a considerable body of men and women who have been unnecessarily hindered in their development. And it also suggests that the barriers in their path have not as a rule been erected by exceptionally malevolent or discreditable educationalists: quite the contrary. It is believed, therefore, that an acquaintance with the methods and the findings of analytical psychology will help the teacher both to understand the mental processes of the child, and to avoid some of those dangers of unconscious bias and prejudice in himself that are sometimes at work in contradiction to his conscious purpose.

CHAPTER III
REALITY AND PHANTASY

THE NATURE OF PHANTASY.

COMPENSATORY PHANTASY:

Normal.

Abnormal.

Relation between the two.

The child and the adult.

INSPIRATORY PHANTASY:

The attempt to transcend present knowledge and experience.

The pragmatic tests: relation to reality—progressive or regressive.

CREATIVE PHANTASY:

Practical and artistic.

The test of social value.

SOCIAL PHANTASY:

Its apparent "objectivity."

Its relation to reality.

"DEVELOPING THE CHILD'S IMAGINATION":

Protest against the shibboleth.

Fairy tales, good and bad.

The mythology of the unconscious.

PHANTASY OR REALITY:

Peter Pan.

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THE last chapter was concerned with the struggle of the developing child in relation to the authority-independence principle. We pass from that to consider the phantasy-reality principle, which involves a struggle of comparable importance. Phantasy, like suggestibility, is a characteristic of childhood: both tendencies have their racial value; both must be to a great extent discarded before the individual can be said to have reached maturity; both are primary factors in educability, and both are capable of abuse by educators.

Phantasy is like an air-cushion: there is nothing in it, but it eases the joints wonderfully. It is the magic that tempers the winds of reality to the shorn lamb. It smooths the path of the child's adjustment to reality; and when that reality offers too menacing an aspect, it provides a way of escape. It may be stimulated from within, and find expression in day-dreams, castles in the air, and in all forms of imagining and pretending; or it may be stimulated from without by fairy-tales, legends, fables, myths and allegories. All

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these are of the stuff of phantasy. What part should they play in the life of the child? And how far must they be discarded by the adult? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to distinguish various forms of phantasy.

The first, and by far the most common, is the compensatory phantasy. In the child, it is, in moderation, a perfectly normal response to the harshness, rigidity or monotony of real life. The weak little boy has day-dreams in which he performs incredible feats of strength and valour. The little girl, who has been told that she is ugly, pictures herself as a princess of transcendent beauty. Sometimes the phantasy takes the form of an elaborate story or mental picture; sometimes it is merely a passing wish. The latter form is faithfully illustrated in Miss Fyleman's verses:

I wish I liked rice pudding;
I wish I were a twin;
I wish some day a real live fairy
Would just come walking in.

I wish when I'm at table
My feet would touch the floor;
I wish our pipes would burst next winter,
Just like they did next door.

I wish that I could whistle
Real proper grown-up tunes;

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I wish they'd let me sweep the chimneys
On rainy afternoons.

I've got such heaps of wishes,
I've only said a few:
I wish that I could wake some morning
And find they'd all come true!

These lines, written with astonishing insight into the child's mind, show how harmless, natural and disarming is the normal phantasy of childhood, and how obvious is the compensatory mechanism at work. But, while the phantasy tendency is perfectly normal in the child, it is not so in the adult. For him it is a regression; and he should no longer maintain the habit of obtaining satisfaction by picturing himself, his circumstances, or his destiny, in a way that bears no relation to reality. It is, therefore, part of the normal process of development that the phantasy tendency should gradually diminish in exactly the same way as the tendency to suggestibility should diminish. The failure of this process may be seen in an example taken from the abnormal.

The phantasy takes the form of a letter, written by a boy of fourteen—the only child of a widow, who was also a Christian Scientist. His mother believed him to be the most wonderful boy in the world, and taught him to

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share her belief. She kept him at home until he was fourteen. At that age he was sent to a boarding-school, and to his surprise found himself in the bottom class, the bottom game, and in every way in a position of acute inferiority. The sympathy that he might have gained in these circumstances was continually being alienated by his own reaction to them: a smile of bland and imperturbable superiority. He was unable to adjust himself to the hard and humbling realities of school life. When he had been at school some months the following letter was found written by him:

"DEAR SIR OR MADAM,—

"I am a member of ——— School. I have a friend here who has a great belief in a strange yet wonderful theory, which he believes has been told him by the great Author and Giver of all things, namely God.

"The theory which I am going to set forth before you in the following pages (as he told it to me in the first person I will write it so) is open for your free personal criticisms, which should kindly be addressed to me at the above address.

"I feel that I ought to make mention of the fact that my friend has never told anybody in the world of the theory before, and has been expecting it to happen to him each day for the last six years or so, so that nothing can remove it; there it is set out as he told it to me.

"I have been expecting for many years to become the most wonderful man upon this earth—in fact, you can hardly say upon this earth, exactly, as I shall be immortal.

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"I shall have magic lifts, which will run between heaven and earth. Heaven will be my native land, and I shall be sort of let into Heaven by the back door, so to speak. That is to say that I expect I shall not be like an ordinary human being, but if God will give me all these things, I will pay Him back by doing the work set forth by my Father to my utmost capability. To continue, my work will mainly consist in schoolmastering and as a doctor.

"I shall have an absolutely new and perfect immortal body, which can be suited to either climates. It will also be controlled by electricity throughout, controlled by switches fastened in my body, enabling me to have (1) strength to give the most colossal kick known; (2) to make myself invisible; (3) to fly through the air.

"I shall know all that is known, or ever will be known, including all the languages of the world.

"I shall have a brother, who will be born and bred in Heaven, so to speak.

"I shall also have an extremely wonderful motor-car, which will be able to speak, but very shy.

"I shall have as much money as I want, my allowance being £1 per day, or £6 10s. per week.

"I can imagine myself in this other life of which I have told you about. Of course, no human being will be allowed to enter Heaven during his lifetime, except to go into the Healing-Room. The fare, which go to the Heaven Lift Company (the power station of which will be in the Upper World), will be 3d. I can also imagine myself doing many things in this other life, for instance, counting the money at the end of the day in the lift, and taking it to the bank.

"I presume that I shall wake up in Heaven one morning in a sort of motor-car bed, in the sunshine of

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this new world, and can imagine running about the town in this car."

This document obviously exceeds the limits of normal phantasy, but it illustrates exactly the same compensatory tendency in an exaggerated form. The boy identifies himself with a friend, who is in the confidence of the Almighty, and therefore in a position of supreme privilege and superiority. He is the most wonderful man upon earth: here is compensation for being the least-regarded boy in the whole school. He was lazy; and the need for exertion, physical or mental, was another of the hard realities of life which he was unable to face. Therefore his phantasy is full of magical solutions.

There is the lift—a familiar dream-symbol of effortless achievement. A woman of thirty-two, who had been brought up by two misguided and adoring parents, and had been unable to develop self-reliance and individuality, once had a dream that she was staying in an hotel; that she walked upstairs to her parents' room, and that they were angry with her for not having asked for the lift. It was true: their policy had always been to save her effort.

Again, electricity plays an important part in the phantasy. To every modern child who

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is familiar with electric light and power the electric switch is the natural symbol for the greatest result with the least exertion. By merely turning on the switch this boy was to be enabled to give the most colossal kick known; to become invisible, and to fly through the air. It needs but little imagination to call up the scenes to which these powers are compensatory: the times when he had been kicked by other boys, or chased round the playground, with good reason for wishing to become invisible. Flying through the air is a common and significant symbol of phantasy itself: the escape from the *terra firma* of reality. Compensation for stupidity at lessons is found in the phantasy of knowing all that is known or ever will be known. The boy longed to escape from his schoolfellows, but none the less, he was lonely; and his longing for fellowship finds expression in the idea of a "brother in Heaven"—the ideal companion who would make no exacting demands upon him. The motor-car symbolizes progress without effort; and the conception of the motor-car bed raises the symbol to a higher power of ease.

The phantasy can be related at every point to the boy's life, but at every point it is a withdrawal and a retreat from reality. It represents the phantasy tendency, no longer in its

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normal function of easing the child's adjustment to reality, but in an acutely morbid form. And yet it is not so far removed from mental processes which are accepted as normal. Its main idea of effortless salvation, the individual's demand for preferential treatment, is not an uncommon thought, though it seldom expresses itself so ingenuously as in the aspiration to be "let into Heaven by the back door, so to speak." The choice of the occupations of the school master and the doctor is clearly determined by the idea that these are the two most patronizing professions: a sobering thought both for the readers of this book and for its writer. Again, it is impossible not to relate to the situation the fact of the boy's upbringing as a Christian Scientist; for Christian Science is to a large extent based on a phantasy of health, which is a retreat from reality. The sufferer refuses to accept the fact that he has toothache, and describes it as a "false claim," thereby making use of this same principle of attempting to twist reality into a congenial form, rather than adapt oneself to its uncongenial elements.

During the war there were many people who refused to accept the circumstantial evidence of the death of a son or husband. A widow, wearing deep mourning, admitted to

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the writer that she was convinced that her husband was not dead, despite the fact that he had been missing for two years, and that after nine months he had been—in the official language—"presumed dead." Her "conviction" was clearly a compensatory phantasy, protecting her from the conscious realization of her loss. It might appear that in such circumstances the adult, no less than the child, is entitled to protection from the keen winds of reality, and that we should accept as a merciful dispensation the mental mechanism which makes possible a temporary escape from the intolerable fact. But this view becomes impossible when the effect of compensatory phantasy in the life of the adult is more closely examined. In so far as it is successfully indulged in, it means loss of contact with the reality of outward experience: and that way neurosis lies. And it destroys the unity of the inner life by setting up a contradiction between the conscious and the unconscious, for while the individual believes in his phantasy, he is repressing his own apprehension of the obvious reality. At this price the consolations of phantasy are too dearly bought. The study of these considerations points to the view which has already been stated—that the function of compensatory phantasy is genetic: it has a special part to

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play in childhood, and it should diminish, almost to the point of disappearance, in the progress to maturity.]

Although the factor of compensation plays so prominent a part in the phantasies both of the child and of the adult, it is not always the chief factor. One motive of phantasy is the attempt to transcend the limits of present knowledge or experience. Unsatisfied curiosity is responsible for much phantasy-weaving. A child who travelled between Australia and England several times kept asking her parents what life was like at the bottom of the sea. As they never gave her a satisfactory answer she developed the most elaborate phantasies. A small boy was sure that the Holy Ghost was a huge gasometer. All children will weave sexual phantasies, so long as they are kept ignorant or deceived on these subjects. Mental activity of this type is the raw material of the speculative tendency, where it seeks to push knowledge to its farthest limits. Many of the discoveries and inventions of science seem to have gained their first footing in the minds of men in the form of phantasies, and to have held it precariously until practical reason had caught up imagination, and said that truth was stranger than fiction, and that Icarus could fly in broad daylight without

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having his wings melted. Many of the great myths of the world are an attempt to satisfy the longing for knowledge on things that are beyond present possible experience—the beginning and the end of all things, or the origin of evil. And there are ethical and social ideals, which can be seen to be true to the principles of human development, and yet appear so far remote from present experience that, until they can be embodied and expressed, they remain almost in the realm of phantasy. Adult life is the antithesis of the nursery in many respects, but it resembles it in this: that it is still a narrow territory of familiar things on the edge of a great expanse of unknown country. The phantasy tendency, therefore, in so far as it is the impulse of discovery and aspiration, is part of the equipment of the grown-up no less than of the child. Progressive phantasy is an essential pre-occupation with those who are seeking to “poise the world upon a distant centre.”

It is easy to generalize upon the idea that dreaming and doing are not necessarily opposed; but it is necessary also to have some standard of the right and wrong exercise of phantasy. No doubt this raises the metaphysical problem: “What is Reality?” but, pending the solution of this problem, one may sug-

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gest certain comparatively simple pragmatic tests. The value of the phantasy tendency depends, first, on the closeness of its relation to actual life. For example, a youth who is on active service may have his mind full of a V.C. phantasy; and this may have a very stimulating effect on his immediate conduct. But the same phantasy, obsessing the mind of his small brother at school, may hinder, rather than help, him in his efforts to master the binomial problem for the purposes of Woolwich entrance.

Another test is to be found in the distinction between progressive and regressive phantasy. The child's dreams and imaginings may seem absurdly remote from his present existence, and yet have a bearing upon his future. The adult's phantasies are likely to be directed to the past. Sometimes it is his own actual past that he dwells upon and idealizes, until "it would seem that the recollection of his youth is more precious to him than any present joys."¹ Sometimes it is the return in imagination to a condition which should be psychologically past, since it belongs to an earlier phase of development. "It is ever so in life, when we draw back before too great an ob-

¹ *Analytical Psychology*, by Dr. C. G. Jung, Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1917. p. 164.

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stacle—the menace of some severe disappointment, or the risk of some far-reaching decision—the energy stored up for the solution of the task flows back impotent; the by-streams once relinquished as inadequate are again filled up.”¹ The conception of regression is of immense importance in the understanding and treatment of mental and nervous disorders; and the retreat into phantasy is one of its characteristic phenomena.

There is a third aspect of phantasy: that which includes all invention, all art, and every work of the creative imagination. This is unquestionably to be encouraged in the child. It is good that he should draw, plan, devise, and make anything and everything, and that he should explore the ways of self-expression. In the adolescent and the adult a more rigid standard needs to be applied. There are many products of phantasy which their authors would fain justify as “creative,” which are, in reality, mainly compensatory: stories, for example, in which the hero seeks satisfaction for his own disappointments by identifying himself with the achievements of the hero. And there is much “self-expression” which is of no conceivable value to the community. The schoolboy who writes sonnets in pref-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

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erence to doing his trigonometry may, of course, be a potential Rupert Brooke: but he may be simply a young slacker. Education in the past has not been free from the reproach of rigidity and inability to apply exceptional methods to exceptional individuals; and we are therefore likely to be influenced to-day by a bias in the opposite direction. We are inclined to believe in self-expression as a thing that is necessarily valuable, and to be encouraged without discrimination. This view is obviously incomplete without the reservation that there are times, and perhaps many times, when the young person—much more the adolescent than the child—must, for the good of society and of his own soul, leave self-expression aside for the moment, and learn self-discipline. The discussion of the social value of creative phantasy raises many issues which lie beyond the realm of psychology, and therefore beyond the scope of this book.

Hitherto we have been chiefly considering the phantasy tendency in the individual: the same mental mechanism can be seen at work in the community. Reference has already been made to the element of phantasy in Christian Science: the refusal to admit the reality of pain. We may attach a high value to this belief; but it is none the less important

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to recognize the nature of the psychological process involved. Social phantasy comes to the normal individual with a far greater authority than is attached to his own private phantasies. He is inclined to believe that reality is something "objective"; and that the test of a thing's objectivity is that other people should experience it too. He makes due allowance for his own capacity for illusion; but when large numbers of other people accept a theory it becomes something outside himself, and carries the credential of "objectivity." It may be remembered that there was once a controversy among the evening newspapers as to which had the largest circulation. It was carried on with great intensity and warmth: challenges were flung down; claims were made; statistics were demanded. The Press is always a good field for observing the play of primitive instincts; and the emotional response to this stimulus was no doubt related to the instincts of self-preservation. But the particular importance of the question of circulation was not merely one of numbers but of authority. Social phantasy—rumour—is part of the legitimate stock-in-trade of the evening newspapers (seeing that it can always be contradicted in the morning); and the more people there are reading the rumour the more

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conviction it carries to each one. A special sanctity is attached to anything that is read by more than a million people on one day.

If the social phantasy is to commend itself to belief, it has to pass another of the tests of reality which we commonly employ: it has to appear in some sort of harmony with the rest of experience. All rumour is intimately related to experience; but it is the kind of relation which existed between the extravagant phantasy of the schoolboy and the realities of his life at school. If we were to apply the test rigidly and impartially, there would be many rumours that could never pass through the gate. As it is, they fly over it. Rumour springs from a need that confounds judgment: "defeating the conscious aim to express objective truth by the unconscious aim to express subjective emotion."¹ We can see this mechanism at work in any social phantasy. It is clearly illustrated in the most striking example of our own times—the Russian rumour of September, 1914. It stands out as evidence of the tragic and pathetic need that was felt in those days. We were up against a reality more terrible and menacing than any we had known, and we took refuge

¹ M. K. Bradby: *The Logic of the Unconscious Mind*, Oxford Medical Publications, p. 60.

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from it in a great phantasy of deliverance, for which there was not a single scrap of verifiable evidence.

Some of the most vivid and intense forms of social phantasy are of the compensatory type; but examples of the other types will also occur to the reader. The idea of the League of Nations has long been in the world as an inspiratory phantasy. To-day, though it has a local habitation and a Covenant, its friends as well as its enemies protest that "it is a mere ghost that walks the earth." Whether or no one believes in such ghosts, and in the power of things that are not to bring to naught things that are, must depend upon one's view of the nature of reality.

This discussion of phantasy must be related to the general view of the educationalist on the advisability of "developing the child's imagination." There is some difference of opinion on this point. Dr. Montessori has assumed a somewhat uncompromising attitude with regard to the fairy tale, and its place in education; and her attitude has been subjected to a good deal of criticism. There is probably an element of truth in the objection that Dr. Montessori comes from a Latin race, and does not fully appreciate the value of folk-lore to a Saxon, Teutonic or Scandina-

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vian people. It is certainly true that as Christianity dominated the Latin races first, it suppressed to a great extent the evolution of folklore in its original form; so that these races are much poorer in legend and myth than the more Northern races. The racial phantasy was largely absorbed in religious allegory and hagiology. It may also be said that the Northern races have, on the whole, less facility for self-expression; and, therefore, more emphasis is needed in their education on all that tends to encourage it. But, with these reservations, one must accept the large measure of truth in Dr. Montessori's position. Her objection is, no doubt, based partly on the worthlessness, fatuity or harmfulness of many of the fairy stories in currency. There is need for a protest against the mere shibboleth of "developing the child's imagination." The phantasy tendency is inherent in every child; but its development is not necessarily valuable. The policy of "developing the imagination" may produce an Edison or a hypochondriac. Every form of stimulus to the imagination, whether it be the kinema, or phantasy, or fairy tales, needs to be judged on its own merits. The value or the harm of it entirely depends on the kind of picture the child sees, and the kind of story he hears or makes up for himself.

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No one can doubt that fairy tales, myths and allegories serve the purpose of objectifying the abstract, so as to bring it within the grasp of the child: he must pass thus from the seen to the unseen, from the known to the unknown. They are invaluable forms of expression; but what is it that they express? And how much of this meaning does the child understand?

The story of Little Red Riding-hood is a very interesting one from the point of view of racial psychology. It appears in the folk-lore of every country from Persia to Norway, and it contains a deep psychological truth. Its theme is the age-long story of the conflict between the aspiring child and the doomed adult; between confident vision and consuming jealousy. All that the old grandmother stood for of love and devotion has been consumed in the bitterness of becoming a "back number." Then there is a magical intervention: the man appears and saves the girl. Most of us have known the girl confronted with this danger, and we have seen that sometimes the man does appear and save her, and that sometimes he does not, and she is destroyed by the fierceness of bitter and exacting age. It is a story full of meaning; but is it a meaning that we wish the child to appropriate, consciously or unconsciously? Do we want the child to

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believe that willing devotion to duty is likely to lead into such dire danger? Do we want to add a wolf to the fear-concepts of children who have quite enough to supply that element when they deal with dogs and motor-buses? Do we want them to believe in the certainty of magical and effortless salvation? And if the real meaning of the story is missed, both by the teacher and the child, is there any value in it, as a mere stimulus to imagination?

The same indiscriminate belief in the value of a story leads many people to teach children parables and incidents from the Bible without adequate understanding of their meaning. The story of Legion and the destruction of the Gadarene swine has been related to children by parents and teachers who were unable to show in it any sort of message, or even to bring it into line with the most ordinary code of ethics.

The legend of St. Christopher is an example of a story that is entirely valuable. There is nothing ugly in it. The magic part is no effortless salvation, but a truth that is truer than any—a truth that the child may not be ready to apprehend, but that he will realize in after years, when, after self-forgetful devotion to the service of his fellow-men, he finds the load becoming intolerably heavy; and the

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wakens to the fact that that load is the Christ and none other.

Let us give the children Arthurian legends, stories of Drake and Raleigh, Livingstone and Stanley, Shackleton and Scott—stories that are full of hard-earned achievement, the glory of service, and the triumph over circumstances. And let us taboo all fairy tales dealing with the conflict between old and young; all that represent life and progress as unduly exacting or menacing; all that end up with effortless and magical solutions, and all that deal with punishment and vengeance.

So much may be said of the stimulation of phantasy from without. It should be remembered, however, that although we may guard all the outward gates of the child's mind, and submit all incoming phantasy-material to a careful inspection, there is one line of communication which defies our vigilance; for it leads from the depths of the unconscious. The myths and symbols that belong to the racial unconscious emerge thence in dreams and day-dreams. Dr. Maurice Nicoll has pointed out the impossibility of protecting the child's mind from all images of terror and nightmare: "The goblins of the night spring out of the sleeping senses themselves as apparitions older than the waking mind, as

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haunters older than the haunted. They lie in the psyche itself. They are, as Lamb has called them, transcripts, types, whose archetypes are in us, and eternal.”¹

¹ *Dream Psychology*, by Maurice Nicoll. Oxford Medical Publications, 1917. p. 4.

This conception, which is based on Jung's theory of the collective unconscious, explains the common basis of symbolism which can be traced in dreams, and cannot be traced to any common source in consciousness. It also explains the powerful appeal which fairy stories make to the mind—an appeal which obviously is independent of the relation of the story to reason or experience.

In the light of this theory it is possible to recognize in the myth-making tendency of the child traces of a certain stage in the historical process of the psychological evolution of the race. In a recent account of Jung's teaching the process of man's adaptation to the two worlds of “subjective” and “objective” reality has been traced through three main stages. (*Vide* “Some Analytical Interpretations,” by Maurice Nicoll, *Journal of Neurology and Psychopathology*, May, 1921, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 26 f., from which the quotations that follow are taken.) In the first and most primitive stage they are not distinguished; the content of the collective unconscious is projected into the object, which becomes thereby endowed with mysterious significance. “What is really subjective is not detached from what is objective. As long as this state persists there is *participation mystique* with the object. The object becomes endowed with demoniacal or God-like qualities, and is feared or worshipped accordingly. The whole world trembles with magic.” This

Reality and Phantasy

One of the greatest truths on the subject of phantasy is conveyed in the phantasy of *Peter Pan*. How far is it apprehended by the adults who take children to that play? It is that every single child has to go through the

stage is easily recognizable in the development of the child: and indeed most people can remember the time when there was still for them *participation mystique* with some feared or cherished object. In the next stage of psychological evolution, the collective unconscious begins to be detached from the objects which it once animated, and a partially distinct world of myth and symbol comes into being. "We must understand mythology historically, as a means whereby man set apart the content of the collective unconscious, and came into a truer relationship to the real object. By this means he first divided *the world of psychological realities from the world of the objective realities.*" We are not concerned here to follow the process to the further stage of still more thorough differentiation, and more adequate adjustment both to the collective unconscious and to the external world. It is the second stage that provides the parallel to the period in childhood in which myths and fairy tales count for most. We need to include in our conception of the function of phantasy this view of it as an attempt to distinguish the two worlds which we describe unsatisfactorily, but recognizably, as "subjective" and "objective." It is a temporary adjustment, and on its negative side, as an escape from reality, it has to be discarded. On the positive side, it represents the dawning apprehension of a world of psychological reality, to which the individual has to learn to make a more and adequate adjustment.

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temptation of Peter Pan: that the determination to retreat from reality and escape into phantasy and to live in a world of dreams is always near the child in adolescence; and that if he goes too far, he is unable to get back. This was the fate of Peter Pan, and of the boy who wrote the letter quoted at the beginning of this chapter. Peter Pan could not get back, even when he had his final chance: the girl, offering herself to him.

If reality is made too harsh and uncompromising, too difficult and menacing for the child, one of two things must happen: either he will escape into phantasy, as Peter Pan did; or he will become a materialist to whom idealism makes no appeal. The two reactions are strictly analogous to the two reactions to authority discussed in the previous chapter. If authority is made too hard, the child becomes ultra-suggestible, or a rebel; if reality is made too hard, then the child yields to it, in a way that is comparable to the action of the ultra-suggestible; or else he resists it, and becomes the materialist, comparable to the rebel.

CHAPTER IV
EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
THE BOY

THE SOCIOLOGICAL STANDPOINT:

Psychology must be harmonized with it.
The freedom of the individual and its limitations.

THE EVOLUTIONARY STANDPOINT:

Educating the child for parenthood.

THE GOAL OF DEVELOPMENT:

The three adjustments.
Contrasts in the process of development.

THE ROTATION OF PHASES IN THE BOY:

DEVELOPMENT ARRESTED BY THE MOTHER:

Dreams and examples.

DEVELOPMENT ARRESTED BY THE FATHER:

Dreams and examples.

PARSIFAL MYTH, AS ILLUSTRATING EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE BOY

IN discussing the psychology of the child's development, it is essential to adopt a sociological standpoint. The new psychology has come in with a great protest against the crushing of individuality, the repression of childish and adolescent impulse, which was so characteristic of the Victorian age. In so doing, it has been inclined to swing too far in the opposite direction. There are schools of psycho-analysis to-day which appear to make the development of the individual the be-all and end-all of their work. But it is plain that any new addition to knowledge must correlate itself with other departments of human understanding and endeavour; and if the new psychology is to stand alone, if it cannot be related to modern sociology and to modern religious views, it has evaded an important test of value, and it may fail to be of real service. It is therefore not possible to discuss the emotional development of the child and of the adolescent from the point of view

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of the child and the adolescent alone. A psycho-analyst who accepted the extreme individualist view, when confronted with the case of a confirmed pickpocket, was reduced to maintaining that the man had got to realize himself as a pickpocket, and that it was the fault of society that he had come to that point. He was prepared to disregard the general interests of society. The person who hustles on to a 'bus, and meets the descending stream of passengers halfway down the steps, asserts his independence of the conductor's order at the expense of the liberty of his fellow-creatures, and his expression of individuality is devoid of any social value. In so far as psychology appears to defend an ideal of self-realization which underestimates the claims of the community, in so far does it weaken the effectiveness of its true demand for liberty, by making an exaggerated claim.] The student of analytical psychology will often enough find himself called upon to defend the cause of freedom: the freedom of the child to grow up and—it may be—to develop views that are entirely opposed to those of his parents; freedom from emotional domination and the tyranny of unwise affection; freedom of the individual judgment to find its own standard of values from the mass of collective opinion.

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In all these ways, and many more, he will find himself sincerely and urgently on the side of freedom. But he will not strengthen his position by using the appeal to liberty indiscriminately. There are people who cut their way through many intricate problems on these lines. The case for divorce is quite simple to them, because marriage so often presents "the tragic spectacle of two people yoked together who cannot develop their own individuality." It does not occur to them that this tragic spectacle may perhaps have to be endured and perpetuated, because the individual is of less account than society; and because two people who have perpetrated the huge blunder of getting married to each other must endure the dreary results for the sake of what the marriage tie means to society, and for the sake of what parenthood means to the next generation. Therefore, in discussing the development of the child, it will be assumed that freedom imposes its own limitations, and that the freedom of the individual has to be restrained when it begins to infringe the freedom of other people.

It is also necessary to adopt the evolutionary standpoint, accepting it in its simplest and most indisputable form as the conviction that the next generation matters more than the present generation. Its obvious corollary is

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that in the development of the child we are thinking of him, not only as a possible citizen, but as something more important: a possible parent. We are not only concerned that when he has a vote, he should be able to go to the poll, and vote reasonably in the interests of his own generation; but that he should vote in a way that is right for the generation beyond. It may be suspected that this is ultimately a mere biological maxim—something that is concerned with “life” (τὸ ζῆν) rather than “the right kind of life” (τὸ εὖ ζῆν); but the evolutionary standpoint implies here a value in quality as well as in survival. A man’s judgment in matters of citizenship, education and religion is normally at its best when he is considering the interests of his children.

We are left with certain indications of the goal of individual development. The child has to grow up, and to make the three principal adjustments which are demanded of the complete human being. He has to make the adjustment to society: to pass from the self-centred isolation of infancy to full communion with his fellow-creatures. The human species is gregarious; and if the individual fails to make his adjustment to the herd, his life is incomplete, and his character is not fully developed. Secondly, he has to make the

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adjustment to the potential mate. From the point of view of character-development, it matters relatively little whether the boy or girl ultimately marries; but it matters intensely whether he or she is psychologically adjusted to the potential mate and to the conception of parenthood. The third adjustment which has to be made is the adjustment to the Infinite. It is useless for a person to consider himself an adult while he is still pretending to himself and to the world that he does not know whether there is a God, and is indifferent on the subject. He is far from maturity if he does not know himself well enough to realize that he has got to settle in his mind his own view of the Infinite, and to adjust himself to it. Nor is his adjustment adequately made if he carries through life a conception founded primarily on childish experience: the conception of a God who is identified either with the severity or with the indulgence of his parents.

In making these three adjustments, the child is involved in a series of complete transitions. He begins life entirely dependent, ego-centric, irresponsible; he should become fully independent, altruistic, responsible. He has to pass from the completely filial to the completely parental attitude. From being the victim of circumstance and environment, help-

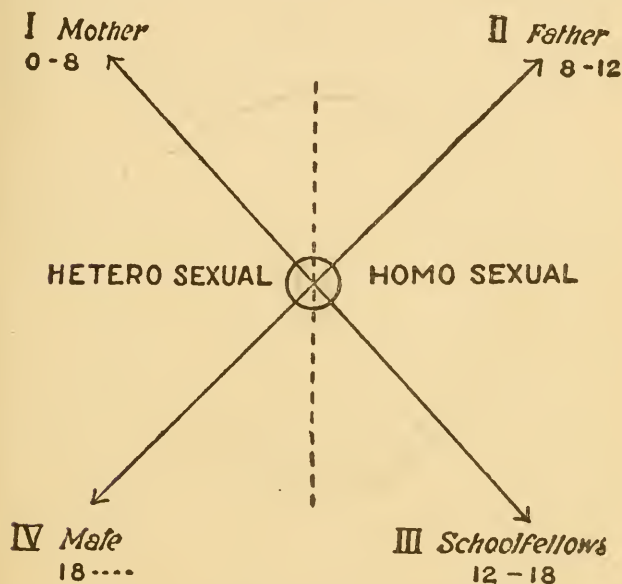
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less in the face of these two factors, he should end by being independent of both, and the captain of his own soul. Lastly, from being first unconscious, and then more and more conscious of himself as a centre of attraction, he should attain to the completely adult attitude which includes the readiness to be ignored. // These are drastic changes: and we have seen how the two mechanisms of suggestibility and phantasy are needed to ease the process of transition. It remains to consider the successive phases of growth which can be distinguished in the girl and the boy.

The determining factor in these phases is the dominant emotional interest; it will not be the exclusive interest, but psychologically it is the dominant interest that counts. The rotation of these phases in the boy's emotional development is represented on the diagram: which shows also the approximate ages at which they occur. It cannot be too clearly stated that the ages shown are only an average, and that there is a great deal of individual variation. The child begins by being purely ego-centric; but within a short time his interest begins to flow out towards his mother. She becomes first the sole, and then the dominant emotional factor in his life, and he associates her with ideas of nourishment, comfort,

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consolation, and protection. This relationship to her shows all those characteristics which were enumerated as belonging to the childish attitude: it is a relation of complete dependence, irresponsibility, and the rest. At about the



age of seven, eight, or nine, interest begins to be transferred to the father. The dawning of this phase is seen in the familiar phrases of the small boy: "When I am a big man, I'm going to have a big stick like Daddy. . . ." Whatever symbol the child uses, the main idea is

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the same. This emulation of his father is the very first step that the child takes in passing out of the phase of complete dependence. It is only a step in phantasy so far; but it is very significant, and during these four years or so the relative influences of the father and the mother are intensely important and formative. The boy at this stage should normally be hero-worshipping his father, and should be a good deal formed by his example.

After this follows the school age—from twelve to eighteen. Actually, it is only the school age for a limited number of boys. There are some who go to a boarding school at seven and a half, and there is the vast majority whose school career is completely over at fourteen or sixteen. Psychologically, however, it is the ideal school age for all boys; and the development of the normal public school boy can be examined as a typical example.

When a boy first goes to school, the immediate reaction of his mind to a strange and rather hostile environment is to look for a father-substitute: some one to whom he can stand in the same relation of emulation and dependence as he stood to his father. He may find it in one of the masters, or in the captain of the fifteen, or in a prefect. He may be

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conscious of the protection of an older boy; and he will also think to himself: "When I am as old as Jones Major, I hope I'll be in the Eleven." It is phantasy still, but he has made a tremendous advance. When the hero was his father, the phantasy was perhaps thirty years ahead of him; when it is Jones Major, it is only five or six years ahead. His phantasy has come very much nearer to reality.

This period of the boy's life falls roughly into three different sections, as he passes through the lower, middle, and upper school. In the lower school the boy is still having a considerable share of protection. He is a fag. His prefect and other prefects have a certain responsibility for him; his master is aware that nothing must happen to boys as small as this; public opinion demands that he shall not be unduly maltreated. He is still in a position of dependence.

The middle-school period is the most critical and serious. The age coincides with the chief crisis of his biological development; and he is passing through the most difficult phase of transition to independence. He is no longer under protection. He must learn now to stand on his own feet. At the same time, he has not much scope for assertion. He is between the upper and the nether

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millstone: there is neither the position of hero-worship and dependence, nor of power and responsibility. Life may be very difficult for him at this stage.

By the time the boy reaches the upper school age—from sixteen to eighteen—he should begin to feel his power; and it is the genius of our public-school system that power is immediately associated with responsibility. It may or may not be true that Waterloo was won upon the playing fields of Eton: but it appears indisputable that British success in colonization and in the guardianship of primitive peoples is the direct result of a training that from the first harnesses power to responsibility. Other nations who have copied the English public-school system have almost invariably drawn the line at this point. The big boys may have been called prefects or monitors: but there would be always a master looking over their shoulders to see that the small boys were not sacrificed to their injustice or cruelty. We have adopted the policy of trusting the big boy; and if we have paid the price of trust in sacrificing the well-being and comfort of a certain number of small boys, we have also found it the essential condition of developing a character that can be trusted with power.

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If this principle is accepted as true and vitally important, it is a sufficient indictment of a social and educational system that cuts the majority of boys adrift from school at the age of fourteen, or even at sixteen. They are bursting with power, and they are set free in a position of minimum responsibility. The hiatus between the time of leaving school and its discipline, and the time of taking up the responsibilities of marriage and of adult life is responsible for the great problem of hooliganism, the solution of which is left to various voluntary associations, such as the Boy Scout Movement. It is very little use trying to train boys in civics before they are sixteen; and it is equally little use to attempt it after they are twenty-one, and have married and settled down. It is at the period between these ages that the ideas of responsibility have to be driven home.

Somewhere about the age of seventeen or eighteen the boy normally begins to be aware of those biological tendencies which, all through the animal kingdom, are associated with the adornment of the person. If he cannot sing like the nightingale, he can at least wear resplendent socks; and if he cannot strut like the peacock, he can purchase more brilliantine: and these things he does to commend

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himself in the eyes of Robinson's sister, who is coming down to see the match. This is perfectly normal, simple and desirable. (There is another motive for personal adornment which is less wholesome: the autoerotic motive known as Narcissism. This is a definite psychological phenomenon: but it is no part of normal development, being in fact a regression.) From this point begins the boy's interest in the potential mate; and it should normally lead him on to courtship, love, marriage and parenthood.

In reviewing the four phases, it is plain that, as has been already pointed out, they constitute so many steps in the transition from dependence to independence. The second point to be observed is that the boy's relation to the female sex goes through a complete transformation—from dependence upon the mother in the first phase, to the full adult responsibility of marriage in the fourth. It may be seen from the diagram that between these two periods of psychological heterosexuality, there lie the two periods of psychological homo-sexuality. That is to say there is a period of roughly ten years when the boy has to wander in a kind of wilderness, where no woman should be the dominant emotional factor in his life. There are many mothers

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who cannot conceive that this should be so; and schoolmasters of insight and experience are aware of the peculiar difficulties that they place in the way of their boys' development. If we ask why it is that the emotional domination of the mother can be such a paralysing influence in a boy's life, the answer is to be found written on the diagram: it is that as long as the mother is holding on to her original relationship to the boy, it is impossible for him to transform his attitude towards the other sex. He cannot grow up. It is only by the self-extinction of the mother during these years that he can have full opportunity to develop.

This is a hard saying: and it appears to discredit a thing that is often admired in a schoolboy—his chivalry towards his mother. The fact remains that, however much we may appreciate this quality socially, it often covers a confused attitude towards the other sex, which is anything but helpful to the boy. Once he has passed on to the fourth phase, and completed his rotation of development, there is no chivalry, no attention he can pay to his mother, which is anything but admirable; but during the intermediate phases, they must not be interpreted in too high or idealistic a sense. Schoolmasters, who are trying to stimulate a

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boy to moral effort, sometimes use his devotion to his mother as an emotional lever. The result may appear to be successful, but the method is dangerous. From the years of eight to eighteen, approximately, every emotional appeal must be based on the claim of growth, progress, virility. Work on the schoolboy's idealism of manhood; challenge him to "vindicate himself under heaven as a God-made man"—but *not* as a worthy little son of his demonstrative mother.

The writer has had the doubtful privilege of dealing with the dreams and the inner mental life of a number of boys who pass as normal, but whose development had been hindered at this point. They were particularly devoted to their mothers, and they had never fallen in love—two facts which had never been correlated, but which were shown to be completely interdependent. In one case the boy was very far from being a boy in years: he is now thirty-six, and he is still unmarried, and living with his wealthy and adoring mother. It is of course not only the mother who may hinder the boy's development. The father may fail to inspire him, and may alienate his sympathies, so that he is driven to identify himself with the mother, and turns away from the masculine ideal. In

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this case both obstacles were put in the boy's way. His father was an irascible old colonel, who appeared unjust, harsh and unsympathetic. It was with undisguised relief that the mother and son saw him rejoin his regiment when his leave was up. And because the boy was the only thing that she really possessed in the world, the mother was so devoted to him that she could never let him go. One of the boy's dreams ran thus: "*I was riding behind a carriage in which my mother was driving. It was going very slowly, and I was determined to pass it. With a great effort, I succeeded. I then found that I was riding side-saddle.*" All means of locomotion in dreams represent character development. His was shown to be slow (which was only too true), and it was kept back by his mother. When he has passed her, he finds that he is still in the attitude of a woman. The femininity of his character came out in other dreams equally clearly. "*I was standing outside a house, waiting for a man to come out.*" The man was his own masculine self, which had never yet appeared. "*I found that I was dressed in a peacock-coloured skirt.*" In this brilliant cartoon he is identified with the least effective of all male creatures. All that there was of manliness about him was this exhibi-

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tionism, this vanity and self-satisfaction which his mother had developed in him. It was said that the mother could not let him go. This is strictly true: for when he ceased to be a child in years, she had kept him psychologically a child but making him into an invalid. Strenuous efforts were made to set him free, but by going round to a very large number of consultants, his mother found one who agreed with her that he had a weak heart, and he was made an invalid once more. When his mother dies, he will probably marry a mother-substitute, who will study his health and his comfort, and protect him from any of the remote dangers of growing up.

A man of twenty-six had a dream that *he was walking along and that a woman, wheeling a perambulator with a baby in it, insisted on following him. He couldn't get rid of them.* He was a man; but the feminine characteristic that he had never been able to throw off, the childish characteristic that he was unable to live down persisted in holding him back. *He came to a hill, and the perambulator went faster and faster. He realized that unless he did something there would be an accident. It was no longer any good trying to ignore them: he must interfere. He pulled*

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himself together, and threw himself in the way, and stopped the perambulator before it reached the bottom of the hill. The end of the dream gives a picture of a definite virile desire to make good, and to prevent the catastrophe. And this was a genuine factor in his mental situation. He had had a better chance than the first boy. He was the son of a perfectly sensible mother, and of a father who was the pattern of all that a citizen and a churchwarden and a husband and a father should be. He knew not only what his children ought to do, but what they ought to think and feel and believe: and he knew it all with absolute finality. It was this finality which had been the obstacle to his son's development. He was of the sensitive type that is absolutely unable to grow up against, or in spite of a barrier of this kind. He withdrew into himself, and retreated from the whole conception of manhood, independence, aggression and responsibility. In one of his dreams *he found a Black Maria and a military chaplain waiting at a station* (representing religion and discipline, and the hell-fire and punishment conceptions). *He saw his father in a railway carriage. The door was open, and he tried to get in before the train had stopped, and*

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nearly had a fall. He decided to go in a smoking carriage by himself. The father disapproved of smoking. The parent who is trying to get the boy into his own compartment is likely to produce an accident, which may end in his not coming at all, or else he may drive the boy to take some course in which he is sure of earning parental disapproval. If the boy is presented with an aspect of adult life, of manhood and of responsibility that is too uninviting, too hard, too rigid and too difficult, he is likely to shrink back from the whole idea of progress. Sometimes it is the father's absence which hinders the boy's development; and sometimes it is simply fear of him. In one of the large military hospitals, it was reckoned that roughly twenty per cent of the men suffering from war neuroses had a history of alcoholism in the father, dating from the patient's boyhood.

The view of the emotional development of the male which has been put forward in this chapter has an interesting light thrown upon it if it is studied in connexion with Wagner's version of the Parsifal story. The psychological truths, which have been presented here in bare, and perhaps unconvincing outline, find expression there in a myth of ex-

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traordinary beauty and power. There is a wealth of detailed symbolism that is worth very careful study in the story of the transformation of Parsifal from the "blameless fool," brought up in the wilderness by his mother, to the tried and perfected redeemer of society.

These are by no means the only ways in which the boy's development may be checked. Each of the four phases has its characteristic dangers, and at any point he may receive a rebuff which pushes him back to the previous phase. At the beginning of the fourth phase he may fall violently in love with a girl, who turns out to be insincere, shallow, cynical or unsympathetic. His first hetero-sexual romance has been shattered, and in his disillusionment and disappointment he falls back into the homo-sexual attitude. This is one of the ways in which "confirmed bachelors" are made.

The men whose interest remains permanently and exclusively with their own sex are sometimes considered to represent an "intermediate type" which has a right to develop along its own lines. In our tangled, groping and complex civilization there are undoubtedly many such types, and it is not difficult to

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trace the causes that have produced them; they are the result of abnormal and artificial conditions; the conception of the intermediate type has no place in normal psychology, or in normal sociology. This view is discussed in more detail at the end of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
THE GIRL

ROTATION OF PHASES.

TWO IMPORTANT CONTRASTS TO THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE BOY:

1. The constant maternal impulse: barriers in its way:
 - (a) The husband, social and legal.
 - (b) The husband, physical.

Fear of the conjugal—
Mary Rose.
The nurse's dream.
The child of ten.
 - (c) The fear of motherhood:

Dream of "the woman in
the wood."
 - (d) The discovery of being "not wanted."
2. The relation of the two homo-sexual phases.

THE HOMO-SEXUAL PHASE IN THE ADOLESCENT GIRL:

No magical solution.
Dangers—dream of flowers and fire.
Safeguards—public opinion and games.
A problem not of the elimination of sentiment,
but of the direction of interest.

THE HOMO-SEXUAL ATTITUDE IN THE ADULT:

"The intermediate type."
Criticism from the standpoint of sociology.
Criticism from the standpoint of psychology.

TWO CRITICISMS DISCUSSED:

1. Misunderstanding of "the adjustment to the potential mate."
2. The man, the woman, and the human being.

EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE GIRL

THE rotation of phases in the girl and in the boy differ in some notable ways. The first phase is exactly the same, except that it lasts a little longer: the girl being perhaps two years behind the boy in throwing off the completely filial and dependent attitude towards the mother. The girl then passes on, not to the father-phase, as the boy does, but to the one in which schoolfellows occupy the dominant position in her emotional life. This phase lasts from about ten to fifteen, and it therefore includes the period in which the normal girl passes through the biological changes of puberty. This is the time in which independence has to be learnt. It is just as important for the girl as it is for the boy; but she has a shorter time in which to learn it, and at seventeen she appears more grown up than the boy of the same age. The girl's independence is different from the boy's: it is not an absolute thing, and it is more subtle and easily thrown out of balance.

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The length of the second phase obviously varies very much according to the education that the girl receives. The public-school girl usually remains in this phase until she is eighteen or nineteen. This must be regarded as an artificial retarding of development; but it is probably justified by the conditions of society. It is a convention which has grown up in response to a definite social need, which was not met by the previous type of woman's education, which was "finished" at an earlier age.

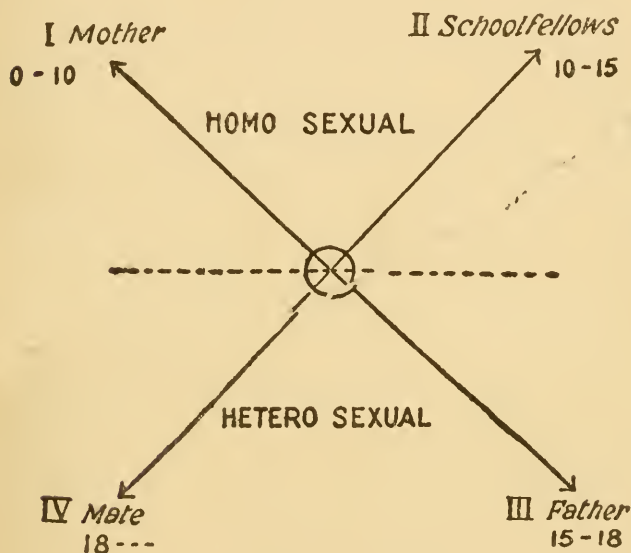
In the case of the public-school girl, phase two often lasts till eighteen or nineteen. Does this mean that her development is being artificially retarded, or is it just a normal variation?

It is during the third phase—from fifteen to eighteen—that the part played by the father in the girl's development becomes most crucial. The actual period of his primacy in the emotional life of his daughter may be a brief one; but though it counts comparatively little from the positive point of view, from the negative point of view it is of vital importance. That is to say that if the father has failed to play his part, the effect upon the daughter's emotional development tends to be

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disastrous. The reasons for this will be discussed later.

At about the age of eighteen the girl should have reached the fourth phase, during which she is ready to love and to be loved, and so



makes her adjustment to the idea of parenthood, and to the actual or potential mate.

In looking back over the phases of development of the girl and the boy, two very important general contrasts can be observed. The first of these lies in the fact that there is in

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the girl a constant and permanent developmental impulse which has no exact parallel in the boy. The second is concerned with the difference in the relation of the two homosexual phases.

Through the psychology of the boy—though not quite from the beginning—there runs the line of self-assertion, the impulse to achievement. At a much earlier age, from the moment when she first nurses a doll, the girl has begun to show signs of the impulse which runs through her course of development: the maternal urge, which is a far more constant and a more homogeneous thing than the urge to self-assertion in the boy. This primary emotional impulse in the life of the woman is often unconscious, and often unexpressed. There are periods when it appears to be completely absent; and there are girls and women who appear to betray no sign of anything that could be called a maternal impulse. Nevertheless, if they are to be classed as normal, the assumption is that the impulse is merely out of sight for the moment, and not permanently absent. There is nothing strictly comparable to this in the boy's development. The nearest approach to it is the impulse to independence and achievement in the widest sense of the word; but the girl has

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the advantage in following a far more definite and clearly-directed line of development. It leads straight to the parental attitude, which the boy only reaches in a more indirect way.

In both sexes the conjugal, or mating instinct appears at a certain phase: but it is, or should be, secondary to the more constant impulse of life. In practice, it is expected that the man should be first married to his job, and only after that married to his wife; and in the girl the maternal impulse should be stronger than the conjugal. It is even more important to have good mothers in a society than to have good wives.

The maternal impulse very early begins to meet with barriers in the way of its expression. The little girl at first announces her intentions clearly: "When I am big, I am going to have five daughters and six little boys"—or whatever it may be. She doesn't think she can be bothered with a husband. She is told perhaps that unless she has a husband she may not have children—an unwise way of putting it. Or it is said that God does not send babies where there is not a husband. Evidently it is a conception that must be accepted; and this idea of the necessary legal or social husband is a barrier which she overcomes without much difficulty. She fits the

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idea of a "Mr. So-and-So" into the picture. At a later stage, she begins to apprehend dimly that the barrier of a husband between herself and motherhood is not only social and conventional, but physical; and that it involves some mysterious act or proceeding of which she can have no understanding, and only some vague suspicion. During the second phase, when she is chiefly concerned with her schoolfellows, her unconscious is full of bewilderment and doubt and questioning. With some girls it remains there for a remarkable length of time; with some it emerges very early into consciousness. A great deal depends upon social environment; a certain amount upon physical development; and a certain amount also upon the outlook of parents and teachers. The part played by the father is of supreme importance in helping the girl to get past this barrier of doubt and fear of the unknown. (Through him she should realize that man, as the aggressive male, the necessary husband, can be associated with ideas of consideration, reliability, tenderness, trustworthiness and sympathy. She should be able to argue to herself: "Well, anyhow, if a man like Daddy comes along, I would be perfectly prepared to trust myself entirely to him." When the father fails to

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inspire confidence, when he fails to perform this function of reconciliation, serious damage is done to the emotional development of the girl. The nature of this damage is seen by psychotherapists in the many cases of breakdown in later life, which can be traced unquestionably to the third phase, and to the failure of the father. It may also be seen in the still more frequent cases of girls and women who do not break down, but who go through life with a permanent bias of hostility towards the male sex. They may have been unable to recover from the emotional reaction to a father who was alcoholic, or who was suspected of infidelity and threatened with a separation or divorce, or who was tyrannical: or merely negative. And it is not the ill-treatment of the daughter by the father that has been mainly responsible for this result; the critical factor is the husband's treatment of his wife in the daughter's presence.

In Sir James Barrie's play, *Mary Rose*, there is a perfect picture of this fear of the conjugal in the girl. Mary Rose hid in the apple tree, and her father called to her and said, "Where are you?" She replied, "In the apple tree." "What for?" "Hiding from Simon, from you—I don't know." Mary

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Rose at that moment was facing the reality of a prospective marriage, and as she did so, she became paralysed with fright, as many a perfectly normal girl has been; and she hid in the apple tree, not only from the future husband whom she had just accepted, but from the whole idea implied by matrimony of man the aggressor. And so she included her father: "I am hiding from Simon, I am hiding from you."

An example may be given of a case in which emotional development was turned aside from the normal path at a very early age. At nine years old, a girl was exposed to an unrighteous act by a man; and from that time her whole psychology turned into channels of fear and apprehension. The first important reaction was that she determined to become a nurse. It is interesting to note that she realized unconsciously what the nursing profession had to offer her in her particular situation: in the first place, a great opportunity of direct and satisfying sublimation of the maternal impulse, without the inclusion of the conjugal factor; and secondly, the assured protection from male aggression which the nurse's uniform is supposed to guarantee. She grew up, and became a nurse, and a man wished to marry her. She could not refuse him, because

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she felt that he was a thoroughly good man; but she could not accept him. He waited for a period of something like seven years, and then she definitely refused him. As she went on, she became a more and more perfect nurse in all ways in which the helpless patient was concerned; but it was noticed—and she said it herself—that she was losing interest more and more in the cases that were not helpless. It was noticed also that she was showing signs of “developing the matron spirit”; she was becoming self-assertive, and rather domineering, in a way that was perfectly foreign to her real character. She felt it herself, and admitted that she was not getting on so well in the hospital as she had once done, but she felt unable to understand or alter it. At about this time she had a dream, which ran thus: *“We were sitting at dinner. Water was being handed round from a skin. Everybody else had tumblers or cups: I only had a spoon of rat-tail pattern. Somebody said: ‘Never mind; hold it out.’ I held it out, and as the water was poured onto it, it turned into a tumbler. But I could still see the rat-tail pattern on the glass.”* The dream makes use of the two elementary symbols of the sexes that run through all mythology and all dream-symbolism: the symbols of the Cup and Spear,

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here represented by the tumbler and the rat-tail pattern. The Spear represents virility; it is primarily a phallic symbol, and secondarily the symbol of the male characteristics of self-assertion and executive power. The Cup or the Grail is the great symbol of the woman and her qualities of receptiveness. This quality is shown as being quite inadequate in the dreamer: she has at first only a spoon instead of a tumbler; and the spoon is marked by the phallic symbol. But her womanly capacity is there potentially; and as soon as she adopts the receptive attitude, it is increased. The dream ends with a final touch of criticism: the rat-tail pattern has not quite disappeared. The dream is given at this point because it expresses, with a kind of elementary completeness, certain bed rock facts about character and development. Some of the principles of interpretation which are here assumed will be discussed in a later chapter.

Another dream that is worth quoting in this connexion is that of a girl of ten, who was perfectly normal and healthy: but rather self-assertive, and lacking in some of the more gentle and subtle elements of a girl's psychology:—"*I was walking with a man. I tried to leave him, but I saw a wagonette coming*

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along with a lot of nasty men in it, and I was frightened, so I went back to the friendly man, because I thought he would protect me."

"The friendly man" was her own masculinity. Down in her unconscious there was already this idea of protecting herself from male aggression by maintaining and developing her own masculine characteristics. What she was dreaming at ten, she might be doing at eighteen. Needless to say, she would not have understood, or been helped, if she had had this interpretation given to her; but it could be given to her parents; and it could show them where her danger was going to lie. If she had been exposed to an alcoholic father, or even to a father who was inconsiderate and unsympathetic towards her mother, she would have been reinforced in her idea of hanging on to her masculine characteristics as the best armour for life. Instead, she needed to be set free from this phantom of fear, and the defence and resistance that resulted from it.

There is another barrier which the maternal impulse has to meet, and that is the fear of motherhood. The point at which a girl faces its physical implications sometimes comes very early in life, and sometimes not till after marriage. An extreme case is that of a patient whose whole psychology turned upon a fear

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of motherhood, which could be traced back to her childhood. When she was about five years old she had heard her mother say: "If you children knew what it was to be a mother, you would be a great deal more appreciative of your mother, and you would think twice before becoming mothers yourselves." The remark was probably meant for an elder sister; but it had remained fixed in the child's mind, and she could never forget it.

The same fear was one of the factors of the mental situation of a girl of twenty-three, who had broken down over the question of an engagement. She had this dream:—"*I heard that one of your patients had killed her baby. I was talking to some one in your study who tried to remind me that eight years ago a woman was in a wood, and a man had suddenly told her that she was going to have a baby. She was so frightened that she killed the baby, and buried it in the wood.*" The dream is a particularly interesting one, because it is one of those that have a double thread of meaning running through. The baby represents first the physical baby and so the conception of motherhood; and, secondly, re-birth—the new adjustment, the new phase that was germinating, and had been killed off. "*Some one in your study*" brings in

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the idea of analysis, through which she comes into contact with her own unconscious, and things that she had forgotten. "*Eight years ago*"—that is, when she was fifteen—what had happened to her? She recalled it with difficulty. At the age of fifteen she had been with a schoolboy of about her own age, who had asked her unsuitable questions. She had stopped the conversation, but the questions had been enough to bring her for a moment face to face with the idea of physical motherhood. She had come up against it prematurely, and she had repressed it completely, and not thought of it again. "*A man had suddenly told her that she was going to have a baby, and she was so frightened that she killed the baby, and buried it in the wood.*" The wood represents the dark and hidden depths of the unconscious. The baby that she had killed and buried in her unconscious was the re-birth which was just beginning to take place, at the opening of her third phase of development—a new orientation which would have included the adjustment to the physical implications of motherhood.

There is a wrong that is sometimes done to the child, which adds enormously to the burden of growing up, and facing life. The parents may commit the well-nigh unpardon-

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able sin of letting the girl know that she is not wanted, because there were two, three or four already, and a boy had been hoped for. The parents may never say it to the child, but if this is known at all, there is always the chance that aunts or uncles or nurses or servants may, in a moment of indiscretion or spite, pass the word on; and the girl as she grows up will find it terribly hard to forget.

These are some of the barriers which rise up in the mind of the girl, sometimes in adolescence, sometimes before it, and sometimes in the unopened mind of a woman who is past adolescence physically, but has not even reached it psychologically, and emotionally. They are fears that have to be met openly and frankly and on the conscious plane. Sometimes the girl is fortunate enough to have a mother or somebody else from whom she can get reassurance and straight information; but more often than not she says, as countless people have said to the writer: "Of course, I had nobody to ask, so I kept it to myself." And so the questioning goes on, sometimes conscious and unexpressed, sometimes unconscious and not even recognized in the girl's mind: "What are going to be the implications, especially the physical implications, of growing up? What will marriage

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demand? And motherhood?" The obscure working of these fears withholds many girls from developing normally and realizing themselves to the full.

It was said that there were two main differences between courses of development in the girl and in the boy. The first of these has been dealt with; the second lies in the different relation of the two homo-sexual phases. The two phases of psychological homo-sexuality in the boy were passed through, roughly, from the ages of eight to eighteen: that is to say, they persisted up to the verge of the mating period. In the girl the simpler process of development takes place: the two homo-sexual phases come first, and then, from about the time of puberty, she passes for good to the hetero-sexual phase. She has not got to transform her adjustment to the other sex in the same radical way that the boy has to do, as he passes from the original emotional relation to the mother to the ultimate relation to the wife. It is true that she has her pilgrimage to make from the filial attitude of dependence to the adult attitude of independence; but it is a subtler change than the boy passes through. Her self-realization does not lie along the line of self-assertion, but it includes a form of independence which is a strange

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blending of individuality and self-extinction.

The homo-sexual phase of the girl's adolescence is one that is peculiarly the concern of the teacher, and it often gives rise to great anxiety and perplexity. The new psychology has no magical solution to offer to these difficulties, no cut-and-dried rules that can be applied unfailingly in all cases, and no method of eliminating all danger from the situation. It should, however, be able to contribute something to the understanding of the problem. It is similar to the problem with boys; but in the case of girls the danger is less acute, more common, more subtle, and harder to define and to guard against. No intimacy between adolescent girls that is at all sentimental and romantic is devoid of risk; but so much of it is normal and natural that to play for safety consistently would be as undesirable as it is impossible. It would lead to a great impoverishment of the lives of many girls who would have avoided the dangers, and whose experience would have been enriched by a close friendship. The danger lies in the possibility of romance being kindled to passion, the point at which sentiment is associated with physical sensation. The unconscious estimate of this danger is shown in the dream of a girl, who had conceived a romantic

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devotion for an older woman. This Mrs. X was gifted, charming and beautiful—and perhaps slightly sentimental. *"I dreamed that Mrs. X was holding up a bunch of roses of transcendent beauty. She took them out one by one and dropped them to the ground. As each touched the earth, it burst into flame. I was fascinated by the miracle, until suddenly I realized that I was surrounded by flames, and I woke in terror."* Flowers are the symbol of romance; and this is a telling picture of the experience of the adolescent, playing with a romantic situation, until it suddenly assumes a menacing aspect, and brings a terrified awakening to reality. Fear sometimes intervenes to save the individual from danger, but it is a thoroughly undesirable motive to stimulate from without. There are plenty of influences which should be at work to discourage this type of experience without having recourse to the appeal to fear. This, indeed, is likely to surround the subject with an emotional atmosphere, which is the reverse of helpful.

The problem should be solved as far as possible indirectly, that is, by the general standard of ideals and interests in the school, rather than by focussing attention upon it. The teacher needs to study and to watch with

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the skill that does not show that it is watching. Those who condemn sentimental attachments most vehemently sometimes try to create an atmosphere of bracing athleticism, which is meant to prove fatal to sentiment and to romance. The girl may be entirely influenced by it at the time, but it is an unwise and ultimately an ineffective method of handling the situation, because it is based on the repression of a perfectly natural emotion. It is indeed only an attempt to transplant to a less congenial soil a method which is only partially successful in boys' schools: the method of relying too exclusively on the effect of games and public opinion in safeguarding moral interests. It is a method which is perfectly sound and helpful as far as it goes, but it is useless to pretend that it goes all the way. Mr. Clutton Brock has pointed out that the boy's problem is partly created by the fact that his education does not give normal scope to his spiritual faculties. "Often the sexual instinct has a vast power over a boy's mind, because it means mystery and romance in a thoroughly prosaic world; and the world has become prosaic to him because all the desires of his spirit have been suppressed. He has learnt to care more for games and the approval of other boys than for truth or beauty, or even

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goodness. . . . But if his life before had not become unreal and second-hand, this reality would not be so enthralling to him.”¹ We are not at the moment concerned to discuss the justice of this criticism in relation to any particular type of school, but it is based on an undeniable truth which needs to be emphasised at this point. It is that the problem is largely one of direction of interest. If the legitimate channels of interest approved by the school are too narrow, or too stereotyped, emotional energy is likely to spend itself unwisely along other lines. Among these approved interests, physical training will normally rank very high; but if athleticism is too dominant, and if girls are not able to find adequate expression for the imaginative, creative, intellectual and idealistic sides of their nature, then they may be inclined to take refuge from a prosaic world in the highly-coloured romance of a *grande passion*.

It is very common to find women who have never passed beyond the homo-sexual phase of emotional development, or who have reverted to it in later life. The preponderance of women among the population and the present social conditions have led to the view—

¹ A. Clutton Brock: *The Ultimate Belief*. Constable, 1916. p. 95.

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certainly in the so-called upper stratum of society—that girls should be brought up to be independent of men, not only economically, but also emotionally. The whole idea of marriage and motherhood should be kept out of their minds as far as possible. This may be done by some without loss, but it is done by others at a very great price, as any clinical psychologist can tell. There are those who are incapable of shutting out of their minds the phantasy of marriage and motherhood, without replacing it by the reality of a homosexual attitude to life, which very frequently develops into active homo-sexuality. The inference drawn by some people is that modern conditions justify the existence of the homosexual type, and that it is only along these lines that many women to-day can attain to full self-expression. The present writer is unable to accept this view for two reasons, one sociological and one psychological.

From the point of view of social evolution, the intermediate type is valueless: it is a deviation from the normal line of progress, which is found in the parental type, a side-tracking of the emotional forces. There are some psychologists who justify it solely on the grounds of the individual's liberty of self-expression. This view can only be held by

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regarding the individual as an isolated unit, and society as the aggregation of such units, an idea which cannot be co-ordinated with any known sociological conception. If we are to accept the fundamental fact that man is a gregarious animal, and that we live in, by and through society, then it must appear that there are points at which individual liberty must be subordinated to the claims of society, and the demand for self-sacrifice becomes more insistent than the demand for self-expression.

It has been argued that because so many women will go through life unmarried, it is therefore better to abandon all idea of educating them for parenthood, and for the adjustment to the potential mate. From the point of view of the individual's immediate comfort and satisfaction, that may be quite true. If we bring up girls with the central idea that motherhood is the greatest blessing to be looked for, we need to do so realizing that this outlook on life may cause them a great deal of pain, if the riches of motherhood do not come their way; but that, in the interests of society, and of their own development, one is not entitled, for their individual comfort, to minimise the value of this point of view.

From the point of view of psychological development, homo-sexuality in the adult is

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a regression. If the general scheme of the rotation of phases in the boy and the girl is accepted, this is a sufficiently obvious conclusion. Clinical experience confirms the view that in the long run the man or woman of the intermediate type is bound to pay the price of regression, in one way or another. The unmanly man and the unwomanly woman who have branched off from the line of normal emotional development in the search for self-expression, are apt to find that the path they had chosen, which looked so promising, has led them to a rather dreary wilderness.

After giving a lecture on the subject of this chapter, the writer once received a letter from a member of the audience, who said that she was "haunted by the vision of a million women, immolated on the altar of society's welfare, in consequence of regarding their life work as of secondary importance." From the ages of eighteen to thirty-five, these women were pictured as "consciously seeking their mate," with disastrous results to their social efficiency. It was assumed that the adjustment to the potential mate implied, *ipso facto*, a failure of adjustment to any circumstances except the prospect of marriage. It is necessary to guard against this alarming possibility of misunderstanding. Actual mar-

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riage and motherhood remain as the typical opportunities of woman's self-realization; but it is impossible to maintain that they are the only opportunities. Self-realization is an achievement of character, rather than of circumstance, and there are many unmarried women who attain to it, and not a few married women who fail to do so. The writer's contention is that in either case there is the same need for the fundamental recognition of all that womanhood implies, and that this is the only secure basis alike for the direct expression of the maternal and conjugal impulses in marriage, and for their sublimation in the service of the community. It is not the only basis, nor the easiest one. Psychological immaturity—first intellectually and later emotionally—has long been preferred as the suitable basis for the unmarried woman's adjustment to life. The nature of the psychological and ethical situation which is thereby created will be discussed in later chapters.¹ Adjustment on the basis of psychological maturity implies a more costly form of self-renunciation and a richer contribution to the service of society.

It will seem to many people that the con-

¹ Chapter vi, "The Unconscious Motive," and chapter vii, "Mental Mechanisms."

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ception of the rôle of woman which has been put forward in this chapter is at bottom a reactionary and a minimising view. It may be suspected of being part of that general tendency "to think of man as being primarily a human being, with full human rights, and as being the normal type of the complete human being, and of woman as being 'primarily a mother,' and as having a 'peculiar contribution' to make in various directions."¹ It will be remembered, however, that in the last chapter, so far from conceiving of man as a completely self-sufficient human being, it was maintained that his relation to women was a central factor in his emotional development. In this connexion the reader may be referred once more to the Parsifal myth, wherein it appears that Parsifal's qualification as a redeemer of society was ultimately dependent upon Kundry; and that without Kundry, who at first awakened him, and at last washed his feet, he could never have become fit for the task that he eventually performed. The man has to realize his manhood, and the woman her womanhood; and it is only so that each attains to the full stature of humanity.

¹ "Some Aspects of the Woman's Movement," *Student Christian Movement*, p. 201.

CHAPTER VI
THE UNCONSCIOUS MOTIVE

THE UNCONSCIOUS MOTIVE THE CENTRAL FACT FOR
ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY:

Freud's original discovery.

EXAMPLE FROM WAR MATERIAL:

Illustrating the twofold function of neurosis.

THE UNCONSCIOUS MOTIVE IN THE INDIVIDUAL AND IN
THE COMMUNITY.

THE NEUROSES OF PEACE TIME: THE DEFENCE AGAINST
PROGRESS.

FOUR EXAMPLES OF THE WORKING OF THE UNCON-
SCIOUS MOTIVE:

The corporal in Egypt.

The lady with insomnia.

Mademoiselle X.

Train phobia.

THE UNCONSCIOUS MOTIVE AND EMOTIONAL DEVELOP-
MENT.

THE UNCONSCIOUS MOTIVE

THE central fact for analytical psychology is the unconscious motive. This conception we owe to the genius of Freud, who was led to it by his study of the phenomena of conflict and repression.

Freud's discoveries centred upon the universal fact of conflict: the inevitable clash between the primitive instincts and the demands of the herd. He realized that the appetite of the individual, biologically, must be at variance with the ideals of the individual, socially and spiritually. And he saw that these conflicts were most commonly treated on the principle of repression or suppression; that is, by an automatic or by a deliberate process of forgetting, ignoring, putting out of sight, one or other of the conflicting motives. He found that conventional morality was content not to probe further than this; and that it had invented its own psychology: the theory that if a primitive desire is denied expression it will gradually wither away and die. Freud set himself to follow the trail of defeated motive beyond this point, forging his own in-

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strument of the psycho-analytic method as he went. It led him into a new country, the discovery of which places him among the world's greatest pioneers.

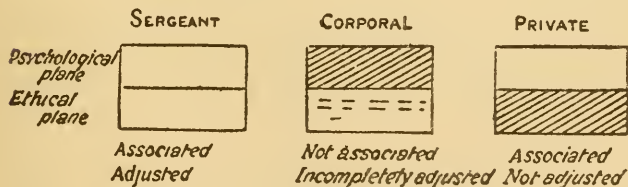
The mechanisms of conflict and repression will be discussed in a later chapter: we are at present concerned with the product of them, the repressed impulse, which exerts an unrecognized influence on conduct and behaviour. How are we to conceive the general nature of the conflict? Those who seek a conclusive answer to this question will find themselves carried far into the regions of psychological controversy, and perhaps beyond them. A part of the answer may be given in words not of science, but of art: "*Neither his fellows, nor his gods, nor his passions will leave a man alone.*"¹ These elements not only come into conflict with one another, but may be themselves the centres of the conflict between regression and progress. The herd instinct sometimes makes conflicting demands upon the individual; the mythical warfare of the gods represents a real fact of subjective human experience; the primitive instincts and desires do not present a united front. It has already been shown, in discussing emotional

¹ *Notes on Life and Letters*, by Joseph Conrad. J. M. Dent & Sons. p. 19.

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development, how the biological urge towards completeness may come into conflict with Each of the primitive instincts is liable to conflict with the demands of the herd. Under conspicuous instance is the conflict between the instinct of procreation and the social code; but exactly the same phenomena of conflict and repression and neurosis have been observed in connexion with the other instincts.

The effect of the unconscious motive may be shown reduced to its simplest terms in an illustration taken from the conflicts of war-time, centring upon the instinct of self-preservation. We will take the cases of three men, who shall be known as the sergeant, the corporal and the private. The sergeant is a man who is fully acquainted with his own motives. He is aware that he wants to join up, and that he will never be happy if he does not; but he is no less aware that he does not want to face death, mutilation, imprisonment, the prospect of leaving his family unprovided for, and all



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the other risks involved in volunteering. With all these considerations clearly before him, he decides to go. On the psychological plane he is fully *associated*: there are no relevant factors that he is ignoring, no parts of his mental life that are insulated and not dynamic in his decision. On the ethical plane he is *adjusted* to the situation, for he has made the right moral choice.

The private is also fully associated. He has been called up as a reservist or a conscript, and he knows that the fear of death and pain and loss count more heavily with him than the demands of patriotism. He has decided that he does not mean to go through with it. When he finds himself in the trenches, he soon appears before the medical officer, complaining of pains in his back. Medical treatment leaves his symptoms unaffected, and in course of time the patience of the medical officer is worn out. The man is sent to the casualty clearing station, thence to the base, and so to England, and a pension. His case was quite understood, and this was the only method that could be applied to it. He is the type that is psychologically *associated*, but not ethically *adjusted*.

So far we are presented with a picture which is on the lines of the old morality, with

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its clear-cut distinction between the good man and the bad, and its definite choice between right and wrong. The case of the third man, the corporal, illustrates the effects of the unconscious motive, its confusing and invalidating influence on behaviour, regarded from the ethical standpoint. It cannot be judged on the basis of a morality which always presupposes complete responsibility for behaviour, and makes no concessions for the people who act and do not know what they do. When the corporal saw the recruiting posters, he was terribly afraid, and for an instant he realized it, and knew the truth of his own mental situation. It was impossible to face, and he forgot it as quickly and completely as possible. He was probably highly suggestible; and when all his friends joined up, he went with them. He had a great deal more self-respect than the private; he told himself that he was not afraid, and that he was going through with it. He kept up his spirits with plenty of whistling and cigarette-smoking, and other forms of extraversion which are adopted by people who dare not stop to face their own internal situation. His patriotic motives were expressed and satisfied; his fears were put out of consciousness. He had made a quasi-adjustment on a wholly inadequate basis, and on this basis of

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repression and ignorance of his own motives, he went out to France. There were some men of his type who did not get as far as that. With some the insecure adjustment broke down at the first air-raid; others had their first hysteropileptic seizure literally when they set foot on French soil at Havre. Some got as far as the billets; some to the trenches, a few held out for six or nine months, but never much longer.

We will suppose that the corporal reached the trenches, and that in course of time a shell burst near and buried both him and the sergeant. Both were dug out, and brought to the casualty clearing station in about the same state of shell-shock. After a few days, the sergeant began to recover, and in time rejoined his unit. But at the end of a week the corporal was worse. His old symptoms remained, and new ones appeared. It was said officially that whereas the sergeant had had a mild attack of shell-shock, the corporal was having a severe one; but no one was ever able to explain why it was that shell-shock should become progressively worse, when the man was removed from the lines, and sent to hospital. The explanation lay in the fact that these were cases of suffering, not from the physical effects of shell-concussion, but from war neuroses.

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The shock had broken down the corporal's quasi-adjustment. It had released the great dynamic of fear that he had hitherto been able to ignore. The apprehension of danger had been more or less successfully kept out of his consciousness; but now that he had this definite experience of it, he knew that he could never forget it again. The repression on which his adjustment had been founded was broken up, and he realized vaguely that he could not go back to the trenches. Though he was not conscious of it, an acute conflict had arisen within him. He could not escape it as the private had done, by simply "swinging the lead." Ethically, socially, morally, perhaps religiously, he was a higher type than the man who did not give himself a chance of a neurosis. When he was asked what he felt about rejoining his unit, he invariably replied that if only his "nerves" could be put right "nothing would please him more than to have the chance of getting a bit of his own back from the Hun." In almost identical phraseology this has been said to the writer by countless patients suffering from war neuroses. They were perfectly ignorant of the fact that their "nerves" existed primarily to prevent them from getting anywhere near the Hun. *The*

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first function of every neurosis is defence. The individual has to be defended from a situation that he conceives as intolerable. The symptoms of the corporal are manufactured for a definite and imperative though entirely unconscious reason: he has got to be preserved from going back to the trenches. But this is not all. The neurosis has a second, immensely important, function: it has to defend the individual from his own self-criticism; to convince him that he is not violating his accepted principles. *The second function of every neurosis is deception.* The corporal must still be blinded to his own fear. He must be deceived into thinking that his attitude is really that of the sergeant, and that it is only his "nerves" that stand in his way. Neurosis is the perfect instrument of compromise.

It is a singularly blind judgment that would advance from the consideration of these facts to the conclusion that the corporal is only a malingerer after all; and that all he needs is to be told to pull himself together and go back to France. Uncomprehending censure and sentimental sympathy are equally inappropriate in his condition; but this is not the final situation. When his case has been analysed, when he has been put in touch

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with the facts of his own mental life, when he has learnt to recognize his conflict and to face it in consciousness—then he can no longer remain the corporal, the compromise type: he has to make an ethical decision, and identify himself either with the sergeant or with the private. There were men in this position who made their ethical adjustment, and they had one's whole-hearted admiration; there were others who did not, and it was difficult to blame them.

The case of the corporal has been chosen to show in simple and diagrammatic outline the primary principle of the unconscious motive at work. It is not intended as a conclusive statement on war-neuroses.

The aim of psycho-analysis, stated in the briefest and crudest terms, is to reveal to the individual, from his own experience, the unconscious motive that is at work in producing his neuroses. This is its primary concern; and much of the ill-repute which it has gained has been due to unnecessary emphasis on secondary points. This is the real focus, not only of its therapeutic work, but of its whole contribution to social, religious and educational problems. The same mental mechanism which is at work in the individual is at work in the

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community. It is responsible for many mysterious barriers to social progress.¹ No one erected them; everyone would be glad to be free of them, and to go on to better things; but they exist and remain, exerting an impersonal force, which seems to defy interference. The mechanism of defence and deception enables us to deplore results and disclaim responsibility. When a society over-emphasizes in its conscious life the material and the primitive impulses, then the incalculable factor may be of the opposite kind; and there appear sudden revivals and spiritual movements, which seem equally independent of human will and purpose.

Both in the individual and in the social sphere the outlook of analytical-psychology is tending to enlarge the field of consciousness and of responsibility. The neurotic patient feels himself the victim of circumstances. His obsessions, phobiæ, compulsions, inertia or physical symptoms: his neurosis, whatever form it takes, means to him a loss of freedom and of happiness; and this in itself proves to

¹ This idea is suggestively treated by Miss M. K. Bradby in both her books: *Psycho-analysis and its Place in Life*, and *The Logic of the Unconscious Mind*. Oxford Medical Publications. Hodder & Stoughton.

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him that it is something that has come upon him against his will. It is only as he is brought to recognize the parts of his experience and the dynamics of his life with which he has lost contact, that he comes to realize that his problem lies within his own personality. Until he is thus re-associated, he can make no secure adjustment to the demands of life. It is by something more than a suggestive analogy that we find the parallel to this in the life of a nation.¹ There is the same tendency to repress and to ignore certain of the conflicting forces in society, and for these forces to gather power in the unconscious, and to exert an unrecognized and incalculable influence upon public affairs, producing all the phenomena of compulsion, fear and inertia, which hinder free action. They pass thus to the final stage, in which they are credited with an independent and highly concentrated existence. They are either deified as laws of life and force of circumstance, or personified in some notorious leader; or identified with a particular nation, party, or creed, a hidden hand, a mur-

¹ "Or do you imagine that constitutions grow upon a tree or rock, instead of springing out of the moral dispositions of the members of each state?" Plato, *Republic*. VIII. 544.

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der gang, or an international plot. The tendency to externalize and objectify a problem is a characteristic of primitive thinking, and it is anachronism to which there is a constant temptation to return. Analytical-psychology re-affirms the view that the most vital forces that influence human life enter it on the deeper levels, and are not imposed from without. The conception of the unconscious that is implied in this view is outlined briefly in the next chapter. Enough has been said to indicate the direction in which the new psychology is tending to enlarge the sphere of responsibility. It is encroaching on the territory of determinism in two directions. On the one hand it shows that certain of the so-called "blind" forces which act destructively in the life of the individual and of the community, can be brought into relation with conscious control. On the other hand, it discredits that type of spiritual determinism which under-estimates the individual's own part in the discovery of truth and moral good, and makes him dependent on an external authority and a magical solution. Both the depths and the heights of human achievement are the expression of a purpose and a will that is an integral part of man's mind, although it be no part of his consciousness:—

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"Our towns are copied fragments from our breast;
And all man's Babylons strive but to impart
The grandeurs of his Babylonian heart." ¹

It was said that the unconscious motive, producing a neurosis, was invariably acting as a defence. In the case that was given, the corporal was being defended from having to risk his life in the trenches. If his situation be translated into the more ordinary conditions of peace-time, what demand for defence is there? Speaking in the most general terms, it is the tendency of the neuropath to defend himself against progress. One man's "trenches" have no terrors for another. The challenge of life asks different things of each individual. It may be marriage or celibacy, staying at home or going abroad, self-assertion or self-effacement: the problem takes countless different forms. Often the intolerable situation against which the neurosis is a defence appears outwardly harmless and pleasant; and the victim of the neurosis accepts other people's estimate of it, and is entirely unaware of his own resistance and fear. In general, however, these varied problems can be reduced to simple terms of the choice between growing up and remaining children:

¹ *Correlated Greatness.* Francis Thompson.

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the choice between a progressive and a regressive reaction to life. In so far as progress means self-help, and in so far as self-help is incompatible with self-pity, it is obvious that the neurosis which gives an opportunity to self-pity is an effective barrier to progress. If a girl finds that she is not adequately appreciated, and that her social gifts or talents are not sufficient to make her the centre of attention, she sometimes tends to develop a neurosis: it may take the form of headache and fatigue, or it may be something much more marked; stammering, or fits, or asthma. In the latter cases, any attempt to connect her symptoms with her mental attitude is naturally resented as being heartless and irrelevant. "She could not wish to have asthma like that," her mother will say; "If you saw her sitting up wheezing all night, you would not for a moment believe that anyone could wish such a thing." In a sense this is perfectly true; and yet it is not the whole truth; for if there is anything clearly proved by analytical psychology it is this: that the great fundamental emotions of self-regard and self-pity will carry people to lengths hitherto undreamt of in the way of physical suffering; and that those who cannot get the limelight by ordinary means will wheeze for nights, and endure

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incredible discomfort and martyrdom to satisfy their desire for distinction. It is tempting to pass from the first discovery of this principle to rapid and superficial conclusions about other people's neuroses, and to regard them with a certain contempt. The temptation to adopt the attitude of patronage decreases with further insight into the psychological problems of other people, and more intimate and humiliating experience of the unconscious motive in oneself. The following examples are chosen as concrete and simple illustrations of what has been said of the operation of the unconscious motive through neurosis.

The first is the case of a corporal (in both senses of the word) who was serving in Egypt, and was brought to the writer, suffering from insomnia and pains in the head. After a time I said to him that I supposed that, like the rest of us, he would not be sorry if he were sent home. He replied with every appearance of sincerity that he did not want this. He had come out with his own unit, and he wanted to stick to them; he thought that if he did get home, it would only be on the way to France, and he was better off where he was. I was completely convinced by him. On the following day I hypnotized him (he happened

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to be a very easy subject), and asked him what he wished for most in the world. He was told to write the answer. The usual trembling handwriting appeared: but it was perfectly legible. He had written the words: "*Leave Egypt.*" His conscious attitude, representing his ideal ego, was that of the yeoman in the desert. When he was shown the writing he could not believe that it was his own. It remained as the incontrovertible evidence of his repression. And when his case was examined further, it was found how much of himself had had to be repressed. He was a man of the clerk type, and musical and artistic. He was not a man of war. While his conscious self clung to Egypt and his unit, his unconscious was calling him back to his mother and to Tooting. It would have done him no good to be told this without evidence. What did do him good was to be shown the proof that came from within himself in this unusually simple and direct manner. Through it, he was able to begin to get into contact with his own mind, and to understand why his adjustment had broken down.

The second case is that of a lady suffering from insomnia. She was about thirty, and had been married for four or five years. She had one child, a girl, who was about three

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years old. She was in good health, and could not account for her insomnia in any way. Further questioning revealed the following situation. She had had an exceedingly serious time with her first confinement, and it had been a very terrifying experience. She had had some insomnia after it, and the titled consultant who was called in had given it as his opinion that there must be no question of another child until the insomnia was cured. It happened that there was an old peerage involved: and as the first child was a girl, it was necessary to face the prospect of a second confinement for the sake of having an heir. The compromise with the unconscious motive of fear was brought about by the continuance of her insomnia: for had not the great specialist said that until this was cured there must be no thought of an heir? When it was explained to her that she was unconsciously defending herself thus from her "trenches," she was very indignant; and the prophecy that her insomnia would cease as soon as an heir was on the way was very coldly received. Not very long afterwards, however, she wrote to say that it had been fulfilled; and subsequently the heir arrived.

A more complex situation was found to underlie the continuance of a symptom in

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another case. It was that of a lady with bad tonsillitis. She was brought into a nursing home, and had her tonsils removed. Her devoted husband, who was a good deal older than she was, did everything that he could think of to add to her comfort. In order to stimulate her recovery, he bethought him of a plan, which should prove immensely attractive to her. He proposed that as soon as she was better, they should go off to Paris, and stay with a certain Mademoiselle X. It was all arranged, and she must get well quickly. But the patient only got worse. Specialists and consultants could find no adequate physical cause for her condition, and at last she had recourse to psychotherapy. The explanation of her inability to get well was as follows: Many years ago there had been a great friendship between the patient and Mademoiselle X., a certain French musician. The patient was herself musical and erotic; she was enthralled and captivated by Mademoiselle X., and a homo-sexual attachment grew up between them. At length it dawned upon her husband that this friendship had reached a point at which it was impossible for him to approve of it; and he turned Mademoiselle X. out of the house. The intimacy was entirely broken off, and though there was

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some soreness at the time, the patient afterwards thought of Mademoiselle X. with disgust and remorse and real loathing. During her illness, the husband, casting around for something that should gratify her, determined that she should be invited by him to see her friend again, as a sign of his complete forgiveness and confidence that the whole episode could be safely forgotten. The wife was aware that she could not face the affair with anything like detachment. The plan which was to have given her a motive for recovery had exactly the opposite effect. A neurosis often means the choice of physical suffering instead of mental suffering; and in this case the lady had unconsciously preferred the continuance of her symptoms to the facing of a painful emotional situation.

The last case is that of a man of rather wild business methods, who was in the habit of speculating—not always with his own money. He was enjoying a lively Christmas holiday at Southport, when on New Year's Day he received a telegram from his office to say that his investments had collapsed, and that he must return to town at once, and face the situation. (It involved bankruptcy.) He took the first train to Liverpool, and was waiting at Lime Street for the London express. When

it came, he could not get into it. He let it go, and waited for the next train. This was no better. He walked along it from the engine to the guard's van, and there was no point at which he could persuade himself to set foot in it. The last train at night he did get into with a supreme effort, and so got to town, much later than he was expected, and faced the unpleasant realities of the situation. But his neurosis pursued him. He could not travel on the underground; or rather, he could only do so if he got in and out at one of three stations, not one of which was any use to him, either for his business or his home. The original cause of the neurosis was so obvious and transparent that it could hardly have cheated anybody: it was just a defence against the fear of facing the auditor and his own books. But this ordeal had to be gone through: in time it was all over, and he could start again; and yet the train-phobia remained with him—for what purpose? It remained as a defence against his own self-criticism, to conceal him from the real facts of his failure to arrive promptly on the day of the crisis. If it had disappeared after this occasion, he would have had to face his own moral cowardice without deception. As it was, he was able to regard himself as the victim of "nerves,"

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which so far from being of any use to him, were simply a hindrance to his desire to get on with his work. He was obliged to go to his office by taxi, and he was accompanied by his wife. In his refusal to face the demands of life, he was regressing to the position of dependence on the mother.

The conception of the unconscious motive, producing the neurosis as a defence against progress must be related to the whole question of the emotional development of the boy and girl. The neuroses of childhood and adolescence bear witness to the fact that the menace of growing up is a very much more real thing than many of us remember or ever recognized. Few of us have the genius of a Stevenson to recapture at will the outlook of youth, and to see its fears and embarrassments in their original dimensions. We may, however, gain some insight into these difficulties by the experience of conflict with our own incurable puerility, the unconscious motive of regression, which continually seeks to defend us from the intolerable situation, and to cheat us into the belief that we are not really shirking.

CHAPTER VII
MENTAL MECHANISMS

PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES:

The introvert and the extravert.

THE UNCONSCIOUS:

The Conceptions of Freud and of Jung.

The Censor.

MENTAL MECHANISMS:

Repression and suppression.

Complex-formation.

Transference of the affect.

Sublimation.

Compensation.

Projection.

Rationalization.

REGRESSION.

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FOR practical purposes it is well to be familiar with the conception of the two main psychological types, distinguished by Jung, in his original classification: namely, those of the *introvert* and the *extravert*. It is obvious that any distinction of this kind is no more than a rough division; there are many intermediate types; but even so, it is useful to recognize the two different strains in the mental make-up.

The extravert type is characterized by self-confidence, usually in excess of what is justifiable, and by facility of self-expression. The extravert is self-seeking in the broadest sense of the word; that is to say, he is not necessarily seeking his own ends selfishly, but he is anxious to feel the effect of his actions and ideas upon other people. To this type belong the propagandists of the world, the people who desire to see the rest of mankind sharing their particular views. To this type also belong all successful commercial travellers and auctioneers, men and women with the objective outlook and the strong practical

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initiative that gets things done. The introvert is of the opposite type. He is apt to be unduly lacking in self-confidence and in the power to express himself; ready to think, rather than to act; unwilling to push himself forward. He is generally content to be aloof and detached; to experience sympathy and pity for the world that does not share his views, without making any attempt to remedy the disaster. An emotional situation which stimulates the extravert depresses the introvert: he does not know how to express his feelings, and so tries to ignore them. The two types are clearly distinguished also by their reaction to the limelight: the extravert is invariably attracted by it, and responds to its stimulus; the introvert as invariably shuns it, and is at his best when he is protected from it. Their reaction to opportunity is also characteristic: to the introvert it presents itself first as responsibility; to the extravert as a chance of scope. It is only on second thoughts that the introvert realizes that the post that has been offered him does present possibilities of scope for his powers, and the extravert becomes apprehensive about the burden of its responsibilities. Jung has more recently replaced this classification by another based on the four functions of feeling, thinking, intui-

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tion and sensation. He has boldly made use of the word "function," despite its unpopularity with the modern psychologist.

He distinguishes thus the rational, logical type: the impulsive, rash, enthusiastic feeling type: the intuitive type, arriving at conclusions often with far greater certainty than the thinker, but on the most slender logical grounds: and the sensational type, always craving for stimulus to the sensory experience—the cigarette-smoking, chocolate-eating, cocktail-drinking type, that is responsible for much of the alcoholism in the country. This classification is valuable; but it does not detract from the usefulness of the simpler division into the two types. The latter is particularly important in dealing with children, for two reasons. In the first place, extraversion is characteristic of normal childhood. The process of development should include a gradual transition to introversion. It is important to realize that there is something wrong with the small child who is unduly introverted, and lacks facility for self-expression; and something wrong also with the adolescent and the adult who have made no progress to the development of the thought-life, who are regressing to the more infantile state of conduct and expression. Secondly, along-

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side of this general distinction between the extraversion characteristic of childhood, and the more introverted attitude of maturity, the individual tendency of the child has to be considered. The predominantly introvert or extravert type can be distinguished in very early childhood; and it should be part of the function of education to help the individual to develop that side of himself which is naturally the weaker. The two types require very different handling; and much harm can be done by making the way of self-expression too hard for the introvert child, or encouraging the extravert to over-facility and display.

It may be well at this point to draw attention to the double meaning of self-consciousness in children. It may be congenital: the natural reaction to life of the primary sensitive type. In this case it will be continuously present from a very early age. It may, on the other hand, be acquired. The self-consciousness that suddenly appears in the child of five or six has a perfectly definite cause, and is recognizable as the typical result of a shame-complex based on auto-erotic practices. The phenomena of self-consciousness are much the same in the two cases; but the underlying distinction is fundamental.

We pass from this to consider very briefly

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some of the most important mental mechanisms that have been recognized by modern psychology. The reader should perhaps be reminded that these mechanisms are purely conceptual: they are psychological assumptions which have been found necessary to explain and to correlate certain facts of mental experience; but they cannot be directly observed as mental phenomena, and they are perfectly distinct from any physiological mechanism of the brain.¹

The most important of these conceptions is that of the *unconscious*. On this point the views of Freud and Jung are irreconcilable. The unconscious is conceived by Freud as secondary and personal: a store-room, whose content is recruited from the individual's own experience. This experience includes the ante-natal life, which is responsible for the first storing of the unconscious. This assumption is made to cover the fact that children dream at an early age of sexual phenomena of which they cannot have had any conscious experience. In a criticism of the original Freudian view, Dr. Maurice Nicoll has summarized it by saying that "this kind of unconscious is like a cage opening off the main liv-

¹ For this distinction see Bernard Hart: *The Psychology of Insanity*. Cambridge University Press. p. 16 ff.

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ing-room of consciousness into which we put the things that have become dangerous.”¹ The unconscious is secondary, in that it contains material, all of which has once been a part of experience: it is the product of repression.

To Jung, the unconscious is primary and racial. He conceives of it as partially stored with material which is hereditary. This collective unconscious is expressed in racial symbols, folk-lore and myth-making tendencies, which are common to mankind. The original racial content is added to by repression and the other mental mechanisms which control the selection and limitation of the contents of the conscious mind. On this view the unconscious is conceived primarily as the source of psychic energy. In the relation between the conscious and the unconscious, the chief dynamic is an upward movement: the emergence of fresh material from deeper levels of the psyche. On the Freudian view the chief dynamic appears to be regarded rather as a downward push from consciousness, followed by the inevitable impulse of

¹ *Why is the "Unconscious" unconscious?* Contribution to a Symposium at a Joint Session of the British Psychological Society, the Aristotelian Society and the Mind Association, July 6, 1918.

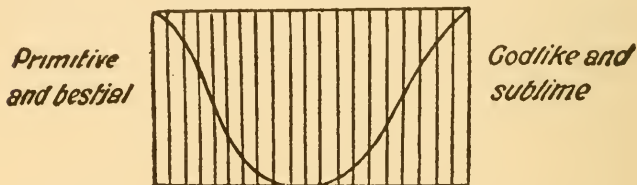
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reaction, the tendency of the repressed material to reappear in consciousness.

The two schools differ thus radically in the view they take of the way in which the content of the unconscious is formed; they differ no less in the conception of its quality. To the Freudian school the unconscious material is necessarily that which is antagonistic to conscious thought, and opposed to ethical and social ideals. It is the force of primitive desire, the menagerie of wild beasts which have to be kept from contact with the more civilized life of consciousness. The opposing forces of morality and social restraint have no stronghold in the unconscious; but belong to the conscious and acquired tradition of man. The Zürich school conceives of the unconscious as containing in itself both elements, the primitive and bestial and the sublime and godlike. It finds the human conflict inborn in the deepest recesses of the psyche. One of the implications of this view may be crudely represented by a diagram, in which the contents of the mind are arranged conceptually on a scale. At one end of the scale are the heroic and sublime elements, and at the other the primitive and bestial. A curved line represents the threshold of consciousness. The ideas that belong to the extreme ends of the

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scale meet with a strong resistance to their entry into consciousness. The resistance is at its lowest in the middle of the scale to which belong neutral ideas; ordinary interests of work and play, clothes and holidays, people and things that arouse no mental conflict. These may sink down into the unconscious, but they can be easily recalled. This is not so with the ideas that are fraught with potential conflict. There is a strong and automatic resistance to their emergence into conscious-



ness. Our primitive biological tendencies, our sex life in particular, meets with this opposition. It is too highly charged with emotion and with the possibilities of conflict for it to appear freely above the threshold of consciousness. This truth has been strongly emphasized in psycho-analysis. The corresponding truth implied in Jung's conception of the twofold nature of the unconscious is less generally recognized. It is that the opposition is equally strong at the other end of the scale. The ideas that are associated with the

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highest adjustment to the ideal, the greatest challenge to growth and spirituality, also meet with resistance. The same mechanism withholds them from the easy entry into consciousness. It is obvious that the difference between the two conceptions of the unconscious has far-reaching implications, which affect the whole psychological outlook.

The Freudian psychology postulates the existence of a censor, who checks the material that passes from the unconscious to the conscious. The personal pronoun is used advisedly; in all systems of psychology and philosophy which de-personalize the ego there is a tendency to attribute personality to something else. Freud now conceives that there are two censors, and both appear to the writer to perform a strictly personal function within the impersonal ego of a deterministic theory. Jung has discounted the function of the censor, and is not a determinist; but he seems to attribute free-will to the conscious self rather grudgingly, and tends rather to personify the unconscious.

In the previous chapter¹ a reference was made to the tendency to evade conflict by repression, or suppression. The latter term is usually applied to the conscious, and the

¹ *v. supra*, p. 127.

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former to the automatic part of the process of excluding an idea from consciousness. Repression often presupposes a moment of time, however brief, in which the unwelcome idea is voluntarily thrust away from attention, and the element of deliberate volition may from time to time be present again. More frequently it is entirely absent. The idea that has become painful to the conscious mind is surrounded by a group of kindred ideas: it is the centre of a constellation. In the example that was given in the last chapter it may be supposed that the central idea of the fear of death was surrounded in the corporal's mind by various associations and mental pictures: stories of suffering and mutilation, ideas about imprisonment and hunger and disease. For a brief space these produced a mental disposition or constellation of ideas in his conscious mind; and then they were ignored. The group of ideas continued to exist in his unconscious, forming what is known as a complex. While it was possible for the corporal to repress all direct thoughts of his fear, it was inevitable that he should come in contact with some of the kindred ideas that were associated with it. However remote the connexion, these ideas would be coloured with the feeling-tone of the repressed complex, and he

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would be unable to think of them without an emotional reaction that was out of proportion to their ordinary significance. It is a very common observation of everyday life to notice that things which appear of slight importance may provoke a disproportionate amount of emotion. It is these subjects on which we are "touchy" that indicate complexes. They are the occasion of a release of repressed emotion. This mental mechanism lies at the root of all bias, all injustice, and all inability to think clearly.

There is a second mechanism that belongs to the process of repression. The emotion which accumulates in connexion with the repressed complex tends to escape into consciousness. The direct outlet is barred by repression. The emotional effect may find its way through some of the ideas which lie as it were on the fringe of the complex, in the way that has been described; but this is an inadequate outlet. Under these circumstances, there is a tendency for it to travel yet farther from the original idea, and to make its way into consciousness by becoming attached to some apparently irrelevant object. This mechanism of the transference of the affect can be made clear by an example. ✓

In 1915 a patient came to me suffering from

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an irrational anxiety about all that concerned her children. They were hedged in with the most elaborate precautions and restrictions. The patient realized that her behaviour with regard to them was quite unreasonable, but she was unable to alter it. The children were perfectly healthy and normal, and presented no cause for anxiety. After getting her conscious estimate of this part of her situation, I inquired about her husband. He was a colonel in a front-line regiment. I sympathized with her anxious position. She replied at once that she was not in the least anxious: she had a presentiment that he would come back all right. In 1915 such presentiments were hardly plausible. What had happened was that she had found herself totally unable to face the possibility of his death; it was unendurable, and she thrust it out of consciousness, making a false adjustment to the situation on the basis of phantasy: the "presentiment" that he would come back all right. From this repression the affect of anxiety was transferred to an irrelevant object: it attached itself to the idea of her children. Events confirmed this diagnosis. Ten days later the husband was killed, and from that moment the neurosis disappeared. The repression was at an end; the intolerable possibility which she

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had been evading had become a reality with which she was obliged to come into contact.

The mental mechanisms which have been described represent the analytical view of repression and complex-formation. It is sometimes asked whether the new psychology offers any positive solution to the problems it reveals. To this it may be replied that the first function of analytical psychology is to reveal the problem and to establish the basis of self-knowledge which is the necessary preliminary to ethical decision. When the corporal of our former example discovers his own situation, his problem, strictly speaking, passes out of the realm of psychology into the domain of ethics. On the other hand, there is no reason to limit the sphere of psychology to the study of pathological states: it is equally concerned to understand the processes of successful adaptation to life. Among these the mechanism of sublimation plays an important part. A neurosis may have been traced to a repression of an unconscious motive of a primitive and anti-social nature, for which the conditions of the patient's life provide no legitimate channel of expression. What then? An alternative to the neurosis may be sought in the fearless disregard of the claims of society, and the free expression of the in-

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instinct. This course has been sometimes advocated and tried. It has been found, however, that apart from the effects upon society, it is not a satisfactory solution from the point of view of the individual. It does not lead to permanent self-harmony. It is, in fact, only another form of the attempt to settle the conflict by ignoring one of the opposing forces. The solution of the problem lies along the line of sublimation, which means, briefly, the indirect expression of an instinctive emotion in some cognate manner that is socially useful. Sublimation involves restraint, but not repression. On the contrary, it is only possible on a basis of conscious recognition of both factors in the conflict. Freud lays stress on the essential demand for sublimation as a means of social progress; but his theory of the unconscious leads him to associate sublimation with the process of repression. In a recent account of the Freudian theory it is stated that "It is not conceivable that mankind should exist and evolve without repression, since sublimation must continue to be a path from the egocentric to the social life. . . ." ¹ It is also maintained that the formation of the complex "results from a damming

¹ Barbara Low: *An Outline of Psycho-analysis*. George Allen and Unwin. p. 90.

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of the psychic energy accompanying the profound primitive impulses, which remain undischarged *owing to the checks imposed by the sublimating forces.*"¹ In the present chapter the term sublimation is applied rather to the release of psychic energy by the indirect expression of the primitive impulse. One of the clearest examples of this process is the experience of the woman who sublimates her maternal instinct in the work of nursing. Effective sublimation needs to be closely related to the primitive impulse in order that the maximum amount of energy may be available. It must also take a form that is socially valuable. The conflict between the social and the anti-social impulses is resolved, not by the identification of the ego with one side to the exclusion of the other, but by the attempt to recognize both, and express both along a single line of action. Such a process leads ultimately to self-harmony and positive gain to the personality; but, like other forms of progress, it implies a definite element of sacrifice and renunciation.

One of the mental mechanisms that becomes most apparent through analysis is that of *compensation*. In particular there is a universal

¹ *An Outline of Psycho-analysis*. p. 87.

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tendency to compensate for the things that produce a sense of inferiority—personal defects, whether they be mental or physical, social or educational—by an equivalent emphasis on superiority. We instinctively turn away from the contemplation of our failures and fix our attention on some more agreeable prospect, real or imaginary. People who are uneasy about their social position are notoriously the most conscious of their superiority to what they consider a lower class of society. People who have a dim sense that their general intellectual position will not stand close scrutiny are the loudest in defending some part of it with impassioned certainty. Jung has said that in general “Extremes of conduct always arouse suspicions of the opposite tendencies in the unconscious.”¹

An instance of this may be given from the experience of a patient who came for treatment because he was suffering from a neurosis of uncertainty. He could not shut a door or turn out the gas without going back to make sure if he had really done it. There was, however, a further factor in his case to catch the clinical imagination: he had written a

¹ *Analytical Psychology*, by Dr. C. G. Jung, Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1917.

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number of extraordinarily second-rate tracts, and he distributed them by the hundred thousand. Further inquiry revealed that as soon as he saw that a man was condemned to be hanged he would write to the prison chaplain, offering to visit the man. He was in fact a religious propagandist of a perfectly untamed character. When the patient was seen and his case examined, it was found that there had been an extremely lurid period in his life. He was very angry at having to make this revelation, and said that he had never told anybody else about it; but then nobody else had wanted to know. It was impossible not to suspect that the indiscriminate distribution of tracts was not due to an ordinary spiritual mechanism, but had a pathological origin. The man had a tremendous sense of shame, a guilt-complex that coloured his whole life. He was trying to compensate for it every hour of the day; but, instead of dealing directly with his problem, he projected it and externalized it. He had the idea of atoning for his own past sins by an unparalleled activity in saving the souls of other people. Behind this idea lay the mechanism of compensation. While he was addressing tracts to people condemned to be hanged, he was enjoying a certain amount of relief from

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contemplating his own lurid past, and his own merits of sharing the same fate. He was able to think of himself, not in terms of inferiority and guilt, but with the emotions of superiority and pity.

There is no cynicism in the suggestion that the mechanism of compensation may account for activities that seem to be inspired by religious enthusiasm. If there is any real faith and any vital religion, it must assuredly be based on the conception that motive is everything. When the motive will not bear examination, there is nothing to lose by leading the individual to discover it, and to see his action in its true colours.

The deceptive mechanism known as *projection* has just been referred to. All human beings without exception have the tendency to project on to their environment, their relations and their friends, the responsibility for things that have gone amiss in their own lives. This mechanism is an effective instrument of the unconscious motive, and has already been touched upon in that connexion.¹ It was shown how the neurotic patient tends to evade the responsibility for his problem, and to look for it in circumstances rather than in his own

¹ *v. supra*, pp. 128, 141.

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psychological situation. It is a tendency that belongs to the unconscious way of thought, and it is constantly appearing in dreams. It is in fact inherent in the very nature of the dream as an objectified statement of an individual problem. The dreamer often finds himself bearing the responsibility for an action in the shape of some other person. An example may be taken in the dream of a woman, who had drifted into a very feeble, meaningless sort of life through lack of resolution. Her parents were people of a different character, and if she had managed to live up to their ideals she might have acquired more backbone and strength of mind. She dreamt that she was trying to cross a road after her mother. The road was full of traffic, and when she had got across her mother went back. She was in great distress. The dream went on: "After I had been crying some time, my mother appeared as a little girl in a short frock." In her dream she is shown as laying the responsibility for her desolate plight upon her mother, who has deserted her, and gone back to the wrong side of the road. But the figure who goes back is herself, and the little girl is again herself, her own infantile personality. The beginning of the dream shows the projection of her problem

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on to her mother; and then comes the dramatic ending. It is you who have gone back, and not your mother at all. The little girl, the pitiable child, is you.

Through a study of the tendencies to compensation and to projection in dreams where they appear unchecked by rationality, it is possible to arrive at a better estimate of their influence in waking life. The impulse to rationality in the conscious mind excludes the cruder possibilities of deception by these mental mechanisms. At the same time, it often acts as an ally, and clothes the primitive thought in a garment that enables it to pass unchallenged. By the process of *rationalization* the thoughts and actions that have been prompted by a motive that the conscious self is unwilling to recognize are explained and justified on grounds that satisfy the demands of reason and self-approval.

Most of the mental mechanisms that have been touched upon belong primarily to the unconscious levels of thought. As such, they need to be recognized and detected; for they are the signs of the unconscious motive, unrelated to the conscious purpose. The man or woman who has to bring the clumsy methods of an adult mind to bear upon the sensitive fabric of the growing child or adolescent may

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well try to guard against any unnecessary sources of self-deception and bias. The tendency to slip back into the methods of primitive thought besets both the adult and the child with a life-long persistency. There is no escaping the truth of the Frenchman's aphorism: "*Grattez l'adulte et vous y trouverez l'enfant.*" The teacher who is to exercise to the full his powers of helping the child in his development, needs above all to understand the regressive tendency in himself, and to be facing his own problem of progress.

CHAPTER VIII
DREAM SYMBOLISM

LIMITATIONS TO THE VALIDITY OF DREAM INTERPRETATION.

COMMON SOURCES OF DIFFICULTY:

Dreams and digestion.

Confusion of the manifest and the latent contents.

Racial and personal symbols—dreams, myths and obsessions.

THE AMATEUR INTERPRETER:

Dangers of interpreting other people's dreams.

Advantages of studying one's own.

SEXUAL SYMBOLISM IN:

Repression of the sex instinct.

Character in terms of sex symbols.

EXAMPLES OF RACIAL AND GENERAL SYMBOLS:

Right and Left.

The Self and the Not-Self.

Bridges, Cross-roads, and Rivers to cross.

Dream of religious propagandist.

Earth, Air, Water.

Myth of Europa and Cadmus.

Houses and rooms.

Numbers.

An obsession and two dreams.

Forms of locomotion.

The Colonel on stilts.

The narrow-gauge railway.

Animals.

Teeth.

Death and Re-birth.

Margate Pier.

Jung's interpretation.

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IN previous chapters frequent use has been made of dream-material. The interpretations given will have seemed to some readers far-fetched and difficult, and they will feel it a dangerous thing to draw conclusions for life and conduct from evidence that appears so shadowy and uncertain. So it is; and the recognition of this fact is a more promising preliminary to the study of dreams than an attitude of uncritical assurance. Dream interpretation has advanced by the ordinary scientific method of empiricism—the observation and collection of facts, from the classification of which arise conceptions which can be applied to resume, and to some extent to predict, further phenomena of the same nature. This method has given valuable results; but it has not reached a point at which dogmatic certainty is justified. This is due not only to the circumstance that the analytical method of dream interpretation is still of very recent origin: it is also inherent in the nature of the method itself. This will become clearer as the various difficulties are discussed.

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There is a popular theory which accounts for dreams—and particularly for the fantastic and distorted elements of them by the simple fact of physical derangement: “How can you expect me to take my dreams seriously, when I know they are the result of eating Welsh rabbit for supper?” An analogy will explain this difficulty. Imagine a bay, showing at high-tide a certain contour, certain rocks and islands. This corresponds to our waking consciousness. The normal dream-level of consciousness is represented by low-tide: a different contour is seen. At the neap-tide the water falls lower than at any other time, and thus falling it reveals rocks and islands which had been unknown before. It reveals these new features, but it does not cause them: they have always been there. If by a dietetic indiscretion I influence the circulation of my brain, there is no doubt that my dreams will be more vivid, more terrifying, more exaggerated than any I have had on previous nights, when my digestion was in good condition. But this physical disturbance has not produced the psychological conflict: it has only revealed it in an intensified and exaggerated form.

The manifest content of a dream may suggest a certain meaning; but further investiga-

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tion may reveal a latent content, which has quite another meaning. The failure to distinguish the manifest from the latent content lies at the back of a common objection to dream interpretation: "My dreams can't have any meaning, because I always dream of what I have been doing the day before." While there is no question that the material of the dream is often taken from recent experience, this observation will not often account fully for the form taken by the dream. There is frequently some curious distortion or addition to the picture, which suggests that it has not merely been "photographically lined on the tablet of my mind." In a dream of correcting examination papers at the end of term some odd irrelevancy may be introduced: "The curious thing was that I seemed to be doing it in the school chapel"—or—"That the papers were written by people I know at home." This familiar characteristic of the dream makes it necessary to find some further explanation for the selection of the manifest content.

When the symbolic interpretation of dreams is accepted as a hypothesis, a further difficulty arises. We will suppose that the dreamer sees himself on a railway line. A train is coming towards him at full speed. Just as it is going

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to run over him, he manages to drag himself out of the way. From the manifest content it is evident that the dreamer is represented as being in very serious danger; and it would be possible to go on with a general symbolic interpretation, in which the engine would appear as the driving force of his life. If the dreamer had no personal association with the elements of the dream, it might be assumed that they bore this general symbolic meaning. On the other hand, the railway line might recall to him some particular incident in his own life; and these personal associations would at once give the dream a specific meaning for the dreamer, which would be more important than its general meaning. In working out the value of dreams it is soon found that some of the symbols are in the current coin or treasury notes of accepted value, while others are in the form of cheques, crossed, and strictly not negotiable.

The dream deals with the problem of the individual in an objective form. Because it deals with the individual, the subjective factor is always of great importance, and invalidates any attempt to interpret the dream solely on the basis of a fixed standard of values. Because it deals with the problem in an objectified form, it uses primitive forms of thought

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—symbols which belong to man's first attempts to objectify the abstract. Dreams and myths have a common origin, and the ancient symbols of mythology—the serpent, the fruit, the bull, the king and queen, these and others are appearing night after night in the dreams of modern people. The language of an individual's obsessions or phobiæ is, in like manner, an objective expression of his problem. The commonest obsession that the layman is acquainted with is probably the "washing mania." People with a compulsion neurosis of this kind are only working out in symbolical form their own psychological situation: the washing represents the claim of the unconscious for the solution of a guilt-complex, which has never been resolved.

It is not possible, in one chapter, to do more than touch the fringe of the subject of the interpretation of dreams. It may be thought that any attempt to treat the subject in a popular form is misguided, because it gives sanction and encouragement to amateur efforts at psycho-analysis. The danger of the subject being lightly handled by the amateur is a real one—whether the would-be analyst holds a medical degree or not. He is strongly tempted to express an opinion on other people's dreams, and is likely to fall into the error that

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has already been noted: that of interpreting symbols by rule of thumb, without any investigation of personal associations. Then again, he is likely to be suffering from an unconscious motive of his own. When the amateur analyst has just begun to discover his own seething cauldron of conflict and perplexity, he is naturally thirsting to find other people with similar conflicts, and to project on to them the problems which he would like to shirk himself. Furthermore, it may be said that the tendency to talk lightly about the interpretation of dreams, to challenge one's friends to tell their dreams, and to offer glib interpretations of them at sight, is evidence that the person in question has not been sufficiently sobered by his own experience. He has not learnt to take a sufficiently serious view of the unconscious and its function, and he is probably in need of a prolonged study of his own conflict with his mouth shut. But while amateur analysis is a very doubtful and often a thoroughly dangerous means of trying to help other people, there is much to be gained by an attempt to study one's own dreams consistently and seriously. It is much less exciting, produces at first very small results, and these mostly of a humiliating kind, and in general demands great perseverance

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and sincerity. In the first place, most people find it an effort to recapture their dreams. It is often far easier and cheaper to get other people's dream material than to remember our own. When the collection of dreams has been begun, many that have been noted down will appear quite unintelligible. After a time it will be found that certain symbols reappear. Perhaps a certain Uncle John will begin to figure in the dreams. The dreamer has to ask himself what this person stands for in his life, and it may then appear that the most obvious thing about Uncle John was his notorious stinginess. A beginning has been made, and in time other personages will be identified as representing other aspects or tendencies of the dreamer's character; and he will begin to recognize also some of the racial symbols that are the common stock of humanity. While he is slowly learning the language of his own dream symbolism, fresh problems appear. Is the dream a picture of the psychological situation as it is, or is it a criticism of it? Sometimes the dream is a statement of the problem; sometimes it is compensatory, and contains the factors that have been ignored in consciousness. In his own case, the dreamer will usually have material for deciding which of these two functions the

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dream is fulfilling; in the case of other people, he may well hesitate to give an opinion. The person who has served the apprenticeship of studying his own dreams for some years may possibly by that time have reached the position of being able to help some of his friends, but no longer in the spirit of light-hearted assurance. In all probability he will have been a good deal sobered by much dreary contact with his own unpleasant unconscious; but he will also have gained some results, which, however small, are of great value. It sounds a vague and difficult process. There is indeed no dogmatic certainty to be found in dreams, and no verbal inspiration. Nevertheless, those who are content to follow the evidence where it leads, through confusion and obscurity, may begin to find emerging such certainties as are the crown of disinterested study in a difficult field. If they cannot say of their dreams,

“All’s a clear rede and no more riddle now,”

they have made the more important discovery:

“Truth, nowhere, lies yet everywhere in these—
Not absolutely in a portion, yet
Evolvable from the whole: evolved at last
Painfully, held tenaciously . . .”¹

¹ R. Browning: *The Ring and the Book. The Pope.*
II. 227, 228, ff.

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There is one feature of dream interpretation that has constantly been a stumbling-block, and that is the amount of sexual symbolism that occurs. Two things may be said of this. In the first place, the conditions of life in a civilized community in peace-time demand a greater restraint of the sexual instinct than of any other of the instincts. From that fact alone it would follow that our dream-life is more taken up with the whole question of sex than with the other instinctive activities. The second reason is that sexual symbolism has for all time been a racial form of expression for qualities of character. Primitive man looked on sexual life as the test of character and maturity: the male symbol was inseparable from the ideas of potency, virility, executive power—a process to which the very name of virtue bears witness in modern speech. There are many pictures¹ in dreams that can be reduced to an obvious sexual significance, but refer primarily to other problems in the dreamer's life, and symbolize not physical or objective sexuality but factors of character growth. Psychology owes to Dr. Jung this immensely fruitful conception of the interpretation of sexual symbols on the subjective plane.

¹ Cf. *The Nurse's Dream*, p. 103, f.

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We pass on to consider some of the more frequently recurring racial symbols. Of these one of the most unvarying is *Right* and *Left*, representing ethical right and wrong. This is a universal symbol whose meaning appears to be very rarely altered by any personal association.

Another very important piece of symbolism is that of the *Self* and the *Not-Self*. It is common to have a dream in which there are two people, both of whom are somehow identified with oneself. These dreams often show in a very significant way where the major synthesis of the personality lies: they are a picture of the distribution of interest. "*I was in my form-room giving a lesson; but somehow I was really sitting in the corner of the room, writing a letter.*" A dream of this type would suggest that the driving force of life was not concentrated on the work that the person was supposed to be doing.

Bridges, Cross-roads, and Rivers to cross often appear with the meaning of crossing a Rubicon—making a decision. It is interesting how frequently the dreamer notes whether he is crossing from the right bank to the left or vice versa. He may not notice it when he first records the dream, but on inquiry can nearly always remember the direction of the

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stream. The following is the dream of a person of much zeal and ability, who took a leading part in religious propaganda. "*I was looking out of a window on to a street, which was crowded with people. I was telling them to go to the right; at the end of the road they would find a bridge, and when they had crossed the bridge they would get a wonderful view.*" So far the picture represented the dreamer's life and message much as it would appear in the conscious estimate of the situation. The dream went on: "*Curiously enough I didn't feel any desire to go that way myself. I was constantly looking over to the left. . . .*" The dream had so obvious a bearing on the situation that it was difficult to imagine that its real significance was to be sought for in terms of objective sexuality, by interpreting the bridge in the strictly anatomical sense in which this symbol is accepted by the Freudian School.

Earth, Air and Water are symbols of great interest. Earth frequently symbolizes the concrete, terra firma, the objective fact of outward reality. There is often an element of criticism and ridicule in the dream-cartoons of going up in an aeroplane, or otherwise soaring away from the earth. It expresses the escape into phantasy: the tendency to do great

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things in imagination, rather than in fact. It is akin to the principle of the monkey tribe, swinging about in the branches, despising the animals who plod along the earth—

“Dreaming of deeds that we mean to do,
All complete in a minute or two.”

On the other hand, the dreamer may find himself trying in vain to start an aeroplane: the machine refuses to rise, and he can only move along the ground. His problem is that he is unable to get away from the concrete and the objective, and lacks the capacity for vision and imagination.

In another sense the *earth* represents the unconscious. In many dreams and myths the dreamer or the hero has to go down into the earth, or into some cave, where he meets trial and danger, and from which he emerges with new life and power, sometimes symbolized by a treasure or a weapon that he has found. This movement towards the mother earth—*antiquam exquirere matrem*—is one of the great symbols of re-birth.

Water has also an important association with the idea of re-birth. It is a symbol with many meanings. In one of the most interesting it represents the intermediate element be-

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tween earth and air, that is to say, the zone in which thought and physical feeling meet. In this sense it often appears in the dreams of the adolescent at that critical period when he or she is making the discovery that physical feeling can be altered by thought-processes. It appears with unmistakable significance in the story of Europa. The subject of this myth is one of the unvarying themes of human life, and the terms in which it is expressed are no less a part of the permanent symbolism of the race. The imagery of the story is constantly re-appearing in the dreams of people who are quite unversed in mythology. Europa is in a meadow near the sea-shore with her brothers. She is playing with flowers—the symbols of romance. Her brothers leave her and the white bull appears. She is afraid, and calls for help, but she cannot make her brothers hear. Her fear is soon forgotten, for the bull appears so gentle and inviting that she plays with him, and decks him with her flowers, and finally gets on to his back. But when she thus yields herself to him completely, he is off with her at once, and he makes straight for the water—the sphere of passion, where sentiment and sensation meet. He plunges in with her, and swims away,

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and she never returns to her father's house.¹

The rest of the story may be recalled here, for it is equally full of meaning. It tells how Cadmus sets out in search of his sister, accompanied by his mother, his brother, and his playfellow; how first one, and then another of them is left behind; until at last he is bereft even of the object of his pilgrimage. The Oracle tells him to forget Europa and the bull, and to set out on a new quest: he is to "follow the cow," the feminine principle. The story tells how he finds at last the site of his new home, and decides to settle there with his male companions. At this point he turns away wearily from further effort, and surrenders himself to thoughts of the past. He is aroused by the loss of his friends, and the challenge to fight the dragon. The myth continues with the powerful symbolism of the sowing of the dragon's teeth: the conflict that follows: the laborious building of the city: and at the last, the sudden discovery of the palace not made with hands, and of Harmonia, the veiled woman, at once familiar and strange, waiting there for Cadmus. Under such symbols myth and legend present in a

¹ The symbolism of the flowers and the sudden menace has an exact parallel in the dream of the adolescent girl, quoted on p. 111 above.

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collective form the permanent problems of development and progress; and under such symbols again the unconscious still objectifies these problems in the dreams of individuals.

Another symbol that is common is the *house*, or the *room*, representing the dreamer's own mental life. At the beginning of analysis, when the patient is discovering the vastness of the problem to be dealt with, it is very common to dream of a house with which no personal associations can be given. "*I dreamt that I was in a large house, with long corridors, and a great many rooms. I tried to get into some of them, but they were all locked. It was very strange and bare.*" The dreamer is startled at the extent of the unknown, unfamiliar chambers of his mind. Often the dream will go on: "*I was on the first floor, and I heard you calling me to come down into the cellar.*" This is the analyst's demand that the dreamer should penetrate below the surface of his problem, and get down to the unconscious factors.

Numbers play an important part in the symbolism of the unconscious: but the meaning is often very difficult to trace. A young man, the patient of a colleague of the writer's, was obsessed by the number four. He could not sleep, until he had arranged four things

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on the table by his bed. In the course of the day, he always contrived to dirty two pairs of shoes, in order that there might be four shoes outside his bedroom door. He was quite unable to account for the obsession. The explanation was found to be as follows: The man was a Jew, and four was the number of the family pew in the synagogue. It represented symbolically and unconsciously the whole idea of the Jewish tradition, family tradition, family religion.

A patient in a nursing home, who was not ostensibly dissatisfied with the fees that she was paying, namely eight guineas a week, dreamed that she was for one day at an hotel in France; that a bill for 30 francs was brought to her, and that she protested that it was too dear. In discussing the dream she was asked what would be the charge per week at this rate. After some time she arrived at the conclusion that it would be 210 francs, and after further calculation, this was discovered to be eight guineas. She found the coincidence embarrassing.

Another patient dreamt that she was supping at the Trocadero. A waiter brought her a bill, saying, "Here is your bill for 2s. 6d., but you must pay 4s. 6d. for the waiters." She replied: "I will pay the 2s. 6d., but I will

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not pay the 4s. 6d., no matter what the other people may do." She had been much troubled with perplexity in making a decision between two courses which were open to her. One was marriage, and the other was social service; and she knew she had to do one or the other (as all of us have to do—and some of us, both). Eventually the 2s. 6d. was found to represent the two-and-a-half years during which she had served as a V.A.D.—the only social service she had ever done in her life—during which she had been happier than at any other time. It was exactly four-and-a-half years since she had first met the man whom it was possible for her to marry. The dream represented the decision in her own mind between the readiness to accept the solution of a conventional marriage, and the willingness to justify her existence by some form of service, such as she had already tried.

All *forms of locomotion* are interesting and important symbols. They represent character-growth, development, the dynamics of life; and obviously they may be fast or slow, easy or difficult, suitable or unsuitable, restricted or free. Here is an example of a peculiarly unsuitable form of locomotion. It appears in the dream of a Colonel. He belonged to an old Army family; took his pro-

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fession with great seriousness, and before the war held a staff appointment at a Military College. He had a great reputation as a lecturer on tactics. When the war broke out he received instructions from the War Office, which made it seem probable that he would be ordered to France in an important capacity, and that he would soon have the opportunity of putting his knowledge to practical use. He began to be troubled with insomnia. He had absolutely no fear for his life: but he had an intolerable fear for his reputation. He could not face the thought that it might not survive the test of actual warfare. And so he was unable to sleep. When he was asked if he had had any dreams lately, he said he had not—except indeed for a mere fragment that was of no importance. The fragment ran thus: *"I was travelling over a very muddy field in a great hurry to get somewhere. I was walking on a high pair of stilts."* His problem was not lack of ability or lack of zeal: it was just that he needed to come down from his perch, and to risk getting his reputation bespattered in contact with the experience of active service.

Another unsuitable form of locomotion appears in the dream of a patient who was being

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treated for stammer: but had also sold his soul as completely as Faust ever sold his. He was a doctor, and as soon as he was qualified he had become assistant superintendent at a small country asylum. There he had remained for seven years. He disclaimed any special interest in the work—such interests as he had lay in other directions. He remained there, he said, because it was so safe. General practice might be more varied and interesting, but he considered it a risky business: you might easily make a mess of it or lose it, or have an action brought against you. Moreover, it was a life that was full of disturbances by day and night. In his present post he was sure of his position and his pension; his meals were regular, his nights were undisturbed; everything was the same from day to day. His one principle in life was "Safety first," and he had become a perfect slave to routine. This was his dream: *"I was travelling over rough, boggy country on a narrow gauge railway. The gauge was only twelve inches. I saw a hill ahead, and realized that the rails didn't go over it. I woke in terror."* The routine which appears to carry one forward so smoothly from day to day is shown as an inadequate vehicle of progress. The only way

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to get over the Hill Difficulty is to get out of the groove and to walk.

Animals are a symbol for the way in which we are looking at life's forces. The *bull* represents the view of these forces as too powerful to be safe, too violent to be argued with. Europa finds herself carried off by an irresistible force. Black and white symbolize approval and disapproval: and the white bull is a pure libido, but terrifyingly strong.

In addition to this conception of the bull, myth symbolism contains the idea of purification by the blood of the bull. The power of this symbol is seen in the whole religion of Mithraism, which is dominated by the idea that mankind is up against tremendous forces, and that purification must come by participation in these very forces. The symbolism of the *cow* has already been touched upon in referring to the Europa myth.

In dreaming of the *horse* or the *dog*, we are identifying the forces of life with more manageable and friendly animals. The *rat* often appears in the dreams of people who are thinking of the sex-impulse as something they loathe and despise: they are also afraid of it, and they wish it would get into its hole, and disappear. It is an unsatisfactory attitude, and generally characteristic of the 'prude.

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A reference has already been made¹ to the symbols of the *spear* and the *grail*, representing the two great sex characteristics, the executive and the receptive. These belong to the eternal verities of life, and are continually appearing in dreams.

The problem of *authority*, which is of such vital importance to the child and to the adolescent, often finds symbolic expression in dreams. An example of this has already been quoted.²

The *tooth* is a frequent symbol of great importance. It represents in the first place an adjustment to life, the primitive means of defence. Secondly, it stands for the idea of something of which a part is showing and a part is hidden; and it is the hidden part that is apt to cause pain. The tooth appears as a symbol of a system of ideas which have formed a complex below the level of consciousness. A patient will often dream that the analyst is taking out his teeth: expressing the idea that part of what has been his equipment in life is being attacked, and that it cannot be removed without causing pain to the part that lies beneath the surface.

The symbolism of *death* and *re-birth* runs

¹ *v. supra*, p. 103, 177. ² *v. supra*, p. 89.

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through all mythology, and constantly appears in dreams. People who have particularly vivid dreams of the death of friends are apt to turn to the obituary column of the morning paper next day, and as soon as they learn that the friend in question is in robust health, they are a little ashamed of having been tempted to take a dream seriously, and they dismiss it from their minds forthwith. But the unconscious is commonly taken up with something infinitely more important to the dreamer than the prediction of what will happen to other people. It is concerned with a problem that lies within the personality of the dreamer himself, and the persons who figure in the dream are aspects of this personality. The information that the dream supplies is, therefore, not of a kind that can be obtained more satisfactorily from external sources. The dreamer has to ask himself what it is that the friend stands for in his life: for the dream deals with the death of this part of his personality.

Sometimes it is the dreamer himself who is represented as dead, or as having to die. An example of this is found in the dream of an exceedingly active-minded matron, who had come to a hospital prepared to "make things hum," chiefly by means of a vigorous programme of whist-drives, entertainments, and

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so forth. "*I dreamt that I was at the end of Margate Pier, and had to throw myself into the sea.*" She had never been to Margate, and had no personal associations with it. Presumably, therefore, it symbolized its general characteristic—incessant, shallow, meaningless amusement of the Christy minstrel type. Her undue extraversion and over-activity on the conscious plane calls forth a compensatory movement in the unconscious: the demand that she should leave Margate Pier behind, and go down into deep waters.

Birth dreams are explained by the Freudian School on the theory that the unconscious is stored with memories of the ante-natal life. Jung's interpretation of these dreams is of surpassing value. Every new adjustment to life is a re-birth out of the death of the old. Death and re-birth form, therefore, a constant theme in the present history of the individual. The advance to a new phase of growth is attended by definite self-renunciation. The special privileges of childhood have to be surrendered in making the adjustment to adolescence; there is again a re-birth to adult life.¹ When the active and generative life is at end, there is the demand to curtail

¹ Cf. The dream of the girl burying her baby in the wood, quoted on p. 106 above.

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activities, to surrender positions of importance and responsibility: the renunciation that is essential to the next new birth, the adjustment to old age. These drastic changes in the life of the individual do not come suddenly. The new phase of growth is germinating slowly in the unconscious long before it emerges into the upper air. It is often foreshadowed in dreams, before it enters waking experience; and this is the truest sense in which dreams are prophetic.

CHAPTER IX

THE HERD INSTINCT AND THE HERD IDEAL

RECAPITULATION:

The gregarious nature of man.

Society greater than the individual.

The next generation more important than the present.

TWO TYPES OF MENTAL MECHANISM IN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS:

Normal social influences.

Mob hysteria.

TWO TYPES IN SOCIETY:

Prophets and priests.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN HIS RELATION TO THE HERD:

From an individual to a collective aim.

From a collective to an individual judgment.

THE HERD INSTINCT:

A distinct instinct and an unconscious motive.

Two typical reactions: the fear of being isolated, and the fear of being ignored.

THE HERD INSTINCT AND THE HERD IDEAL:

Sublimation.

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CERTAIN preliminary assumptions from previous chapters may be restated here as the obvious foundation for a discussion of the herd instinct. It was urged¹ that the question of individual development could not be studied without reference to sociological principles. Man is a gregarious animal: and whether we like it or not, this fact has to be taken into account in studying his psychology. Secondly, it was maintained² that the demands of society are superior to those of the individual. It is a familiar paradox that the progress of civilization is marked by an increasing sense of the value of the individual, and an increasing readiness on the part of the individual to recognize the paramount claims of the community. It is by ignoring the latter point—so it seems to the present writer—that the original school of psycho-analysis has been led to take up such an extreme position.

¹ *v. supra*, 73. ² *v. supra*, p. 74.

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Thirdly, we have assumed the evolutionary standpoint,¹ with its fundamental principle that the next generation is more important than the present one. Probably most of us hold this view in theory, but have more difficulty in accepting its far-reaching implications in practice. We dislike a high income tax, even though it means that the next generation may be freer from the burden of war debt. Why not let posterity pay? There are many other more subtle and exacting ways in which the nation and the individual are tempted to ignore the claims of the future for the sake of immediate gain. Analytical psychology has brought impressive evidence to reinforce the criticism of this policy. Jung finds the acceptance of the evolutionary principle a central element in his conception of psychological health. . . . "The real ground of the neurosis," he writes to a colleague,² "is, in many cases, the inability to recognize the work that is waiting for them (the patients in question) of helping to build up a new civilization. We are all far too much at the standpoint of the 'nothing-but' psychology; we persist in thinking that we can squeeze the new future, which is pressing in at the door

¹ *v. supra*, p. 75.

² C. G. Jung: *Analytical Psychology*. p. 277.

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into the framework of the old and the known. And thus the view is only of the present, never of the future. But it was of the most profound psychological significance when Christianity first discovered in the orientation towards the future a redeeming principle for mankind. In the past nothing can be altered, and in the present little, but the future is ours, and capable of raising life's intensity to its highest pitch. *A little space of youth belongs to us; all the rest of life belongs to our children."*

In all social relationships the mental mechanism at work may belong to one of the two types distinguished by "normal social influences," and "mob hysteria." The former type works from above downward: that is to say, that ideas and purposes that belong to the higher levels of the mental life of the community gradually percolate down, and multiply and enrich their content, producing a system of poly-ideism. This mechanism can be seen at work in the slow conquest of popular thought by any great scientific conception, in the gradual triumph of a political or religious truth that is at first held only by a small and probably despised minority. (It is perhaps from some dim sense of the working of this mechanism that individuals and

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groups which consider themselves above the common level of culture and morality feel it so incumbent upon them to impose their ideas on those who are inferior to them. The psychology of propaganda is, however, distinct from that of normal social influence. In the first place, the levels of mental life can only be judged to be "higher" or "lower" on the merits of the ideas they produce, and not by any preconceived standard of superiority. And, secondly, the methods of spreading the idea are different: in the one case it is imposed by force of authority; in the other it is accepted for its intrinsic value.)

By the mechanism of mob hysteria the idea spreads from below upwards. It springs from the lower levels of thought and desire, and it tends to dominate attention completely, and to annihilate all other ideas which might be brought into critical contact with it. In this way it makes for a system of mono-ideism. Ideas that are diffused by normal social influences are invariably corrected by racial and historical experience; but mob hysteria works independently of these influences. This mechanism can be traced in many of the great and sensational movements of history. If we look, for example, at the Crusades, the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution, we

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can realize the way in which a single idea wells up, gradually obliterating all controlling and neutralizing ideas. To say this is not to pronounce judgment on the ultimate value of these movements. It may be granted for the sake of argument that for the sake of the nation and of the world it was desirable that the Russian autocracy that existed at the outbreak of the war should give place to a democracy or a republic. The social psychologist is then concerned to know what mechanism brought the change about. It becomes clear that the minds that were most competent to see the vision for the future and to bring it into being in the most valuable form for society failed in their function; and by their failure they made way for a second-rate mechanism, whereby a single controlling idea swept upward with devastating effects—the idea of taking from the have's to give to the have-nots. This idea, in its attempt to produce the democracy of justice, the ideal society, has produced—temporarily at least—great confusion. The psychologist's criticism is that the higher minds are responsible for seeing the vision of a new social idea, balancing it with other creative ideas, harmonizing it with the lessons of history, and allowing it to spread by the process of normal social

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influence; and that where they fail to do this, the opposite process is bound to take place, the regressive process of mob hysteria, obsessed by a single idea, wasting the lessons of history, and wasting much more that is valuable to society in its attempt to reach the one goal that it has.

Every community is made up of prophets and priests: and the efficiency of the community depends very largely on the balance being maintained between the two elements; radicals and Tories: modernists and prelates: visionaries and reactionaries.¹ There is always conflict between them: but the more acute it is the worse for the society. In the ideal state, the tradition of the past, the heritage of experiment and example are all conserved and revered by the priests, but with such a lack of rigidity and formalism that they remain reasonably open to the voice of the prophets; who, in their turn, are really seeing a vision, and are able to transmit it so that it can be accepted to some extent even by the priests. The community that becomes unbalanced in respect of these two elements experiences so-

¹ This division corresponds roughly with Trotter's classification on the basis of the "sensitive" and the "resistive" types. v. *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*.

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cial failure of one form or another. If you stone the prophets, you have Judaism; if you stone the priests, you have Bolshevism: a community disintegrated because it insists on remaking every experiment that history has already recorded.

When we consider the child's attitude to social relationships, we find that in the course of his development, it has to be transformed in two ways. He begins life with an aim that is purely egocentric; his interest should gradually widen out, until his aim becomes completely collective. His judgment has to undergo the reverse transformation; from being normally collective, the product of his suggestibility, it has to become completely individual. One of the vital tests of any system of education is its power to help the child in *both* these aspects of his adjustment to authority. The conflict between progress and regression in these two directions is a common theme in the dream-life of the individual who has failed to make this adjustment satisfactorily.

The following dream is an example: "*I was bicycling back to the big house from which we had set out for our expedition. I came to the gateway, and was told to look out, but the coast was clear. When we got in, I*

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saw that there was reason for the warning, for approaching the gate from the inside was a small boy on a bicycle, towing a full-sized motor 'bus with people in it. There was a hill just before the gate, and when he stopped, I expected him to be dragged backwards by the weight of the 'bus; but he had it balanced and perfectly under control." Earlier incidents in the dream proved it to be a regressive ride. The dreamer had set out from the ancestral home, but had veered round towards it again, crossing to the left bank of a slow river, and finding there a misshapen infant, who was somehow taken along on the bicycle. The small boy was associated with a picture called *Vers la Vie*, representing youth and progress. While the dreamer, hampered by the presence of the infantile personality, rides downhill back to the house, individuality, towing collective opinion, goes forth in the opposite direction.

Wilfred Trotter's study of the herd instinct¹ has earned the gratitude of all psychologists. It is impossible to deny the truth of his observations, which are extraordinarily incisive and irresistibly stated. The herd instinct had been very largely ignored; although it seems to the writer that the academic sociologists

¹ *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War.*

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had not ignored it so completely in the past as the Freudian School continues to do to-day, in treating it merely as the escape of the sexual urge in one direction. As against this view, Trotter's statement of the case for the herd instinct as one that cannot be defined in terms of any other instinct, but as a distinct conception, appears conclusive and unanswerable. Trotter has shown how much of our conduct, how many of our beliefs and opinions are dictated by the unconscious acceptance of herd domination. In so doing, he has described very fully one more type of unconscious motive. We are all dependent upon the herd, frightened of its criticism, afraid of being isolated from it, and afraid of being ignored by it. The herd may be represented by a big social group or a very small one: but we are always influenced far more than we realize by this herd dependence, which not only taints our judgment, but also reacts upon our highest ethical hopes and aspirations. In particular the spontaneity, the creativeness, the originality, and to some extent the phantasy of our lives is impinging constantly upon a critical barrier that we have set up within ourselves: What will the herd say to this? ✓

Our conscious thought is characteristically individual: we are aware of our personal

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identity, and the ways in which we differ from other people: but it needs some special circumstance to make us realize the extent to which we are shaped by the influence of the herd, and we are perhaps least aware of those characteristics which we share with the greatest number of our fellows.

The reaction to herd instinct manifests itself in apparently contradictory ways. With some it appears primarily as the impulse of the chameleon to take the hue of the company they are with. The undergraduate who, on a Bohemian reading party, develops an ultra-Bohemian attitude, is quite capable of appearing not long afterwards at a supper party at the Ritz, a perfect slave to convention, down to the smallest detail of his dress, manner and appearance. With some it is the fear of being ignored by the herd that is the predominant factor. These people display something of the rebel psychology described in an earlier chapter. They can dispense with the approval of the herd as long as they have its attention. They will go to business without a hat on, or they will wear fantastic frocks, or stand up on platforms, and pronounce heretical views all to escape the horrible fate of being ignored. They would rather count as oddities than pass unnoticed as mediocrities.

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The herd instinct is a primary instinct of the animal type, working for a biological end. We can study its manifestations among various species of animal and in man. We can detect it as the unconscious motive underlying the rationalization of human social behaviour. But the most complete examination of it from the standpoint of the "nothing-but" psychology does not exhaust its significance. Instincts work to an end that is a part of animal life; motives are restricted to the human race, and they work to an ideal. The emergence of this type of conscious motive, if it is recognized as characteristic of human life, introduces a new factor which limits the application of all analogies between human and animal psychology, though it does not detract from their value. The animal instinct which persists in man is operating under changed conditions, which demand fresh forms of expression. The evidence that has been collected of the working of the herd instinct in man suggests the conclusion that there are definite limits to its achievement, so long as it is operating mainly in the unconscious, and in the forms most strictly analogous to those of animal life. The typical human expression of the herd instinct is to be found not in the unreasoning impetus of mob hysteria, nor

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in those slighter and subtler modifications of behaviour which reveal our constant dependence on the herd; it is to be found rather in the conscious recognition of the herd instinct, and the transformation of it into the herd motive and ideal. The two forms of expression of the herd instinct are sufficiently distinct to be recognized by all who study human behaviour: but the facts arouse different comments. Some are disposed to emphasize the truth that social idealism is after all rooted in herd instinct: they know its antecedents too well to be unduly impressed by it; the new form that it has assumed is of more than the gilding of a biological pill. Others are more interested to observe the profound psychological difference between the process of being unconsciously impelled by an instinct, and that of consciously acting upon a motive.

The herd instinct, transformed into an ideal, means the effective recognition by the individual that all his potentialities, spiritual, mental or physical, are held in trust for the herd. This identification with the collective aim of society is the underlying principle of sublimation: the direction of instinct to a cognate end that is socially valuable:

The mechanism of sublimation has already

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been briefly discussed. We return to it here as being of supreme importance in considering the whole question of the education of the individual in relation to the herd. The modern society makes heavy demands upon the sublimating power of its members; and their happiness and social efficiency are largely bound up with its successful exercise. In particular the choice of occupations needs to be considered in the light of the principle of sublimation. If we compare domestic service with the work of a barmaid, it is obvious that the former occupation offers considerable opportunity for the sublimation of the "home-making" group of instincts; while the latter offers very little opportunity for any useful form of sublimation at all. It has already been pointed out that the work of a nurse gives unique opportunities for sublimating that pure maternal instinct which revolves round the relationship of helpfulness to the helpless. This particular instinct would find practically no indirect expression in the occupations of a typist or a factory hand.

The right direction of the forces of life is a problem of dynamics which concerns the state as much as the individual. Of all forms of waste perhaps the most extravagant is that waste of vital human energy which is begun

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by a repressive and unsuitable form of education and maintained by forcing individuals into careers in which they have no adequate opportunity of self-realization. It is small wonder that from the indignant contemplation of instances of this extravagance, many people should be led to the extreme of affirming the individual right to self-expression, even at the expense of the community. The writer is, however, not prepared to abandon the conception of sublimation as the direction of instinctive energy along channels that are socially useful. The boy with an irresistible spirit of adventure sublimates it more successfully by joining the Navy, than by becoming a lion-tamer. The young man who spends his spare time in being a scoutmaster disposes of his whole surplus energy more successfully than he would do by merely working off a certain amount of it by playing golf.

The last example brings us to an important practical consideration: namely, the opportunities of sublimation provided by leisure. Many of the occupations which under present industrial conditions appear to be necessary to society are of the kind that offer little or no opportunity for sublimation. The force of circumstances drives a certain number of people to occupations for which they are quite

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unsuited. Those who serve society on such terms as these are entitled to adequate opportunity of sublimation and expression of instinctive energy in their leisure time.

It is to be hoped that the development of social science will discover the way to minimize the number of necessary and purely mechanical occupations, and to enable the individual to find more easily the form of work for which he is specially suited. It has been truly pointed out¹ that the study of neurotic patients from the standpoint of the unconscious points to the idea of special tasks. "There appears to be a particular line along which fullest expression is most easily experienced in every individual. Along this line the point of excess is not soon reached; on the contrary it would appear that there is a backing from the unconscious." Sublimation is not achieved solely by the good intention of serving the herd; it involves the re-direction of instinctive energy to a *cognate* end, and it must therefore express that line of interest which is most strongly developed in the individual.

¹ *Dream Psychology*, by Maurice Nicoll. Oxford Medical Publications. p. 184.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATIONAL METHODS

SELF-REALIZATION THROUGH ACHIEVEMENT.

THE URGE TO ACHIEVEMENT: THE IMPULSE OF THE
SENSATION-MONGER: AND THE READINESS TO BE
IGNORED.

THE IMPACT BETWEEN ADULT AUTHORITY AND THE
CHILD:

Removal of adult authority.

Discipline through interest.

Discipline and the Forces of nature.

ELEMENTS IN ACHIEVEMENT:

Conquest and understanding.

The Creative element.

Social value.

Other criteria.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE GROUP.

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IN previous chapters we have strayed far from the direct consideration of educational problems, and have been largely concerned with the teacher's own mentality.

We return at this point to set down some of the practical conclusions which seem to follow most irresistibly from the psychological evidence that has been considered.

Of these conclusions, the most obvious is that the child cannot be taught self-realization: he can only reach that goal through achievement. All teaching has only a negative value compared with the positive value of the experience of achievement.

The urge to achievement is the progressive side of the striving after power. The regressive side of it is the lure of attracting attention and creating an effect upon people. The child is a born sensation-monger. At a very early age he seems to become aware of his capacities in this direction and begins to exploit them. At a very advanced age, and with all the ceremony of medical advice and domestic concern,

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he sometimes continues to gratify a yet unappeased appetite for sensationalism.

The child has always the alternative of satisfying his craving for power in one or other of these ways. He may complete his tower of bricks, or he may cause his nurse to look shocked and grieved by his naughtiness. In the first instance, he has achieved something; and in the second, he has created a sensation. Every child that is denied adequate and appropriate opportunities of achievement will find for itself chances of sensation-mongering. The particular genius of the Montessori method is to be found in the great range of opportunity for achievement with which it besets the path of the child, thus relieving it of the desire for creating a sensation. The complete triumph over this desire consists in the readiness to be ignored: and this quality Dr. Montessori has evoked in little children in a wonderful way, and by methods that are very far removed from those that are commonly associated with the idea that "Children should be seen and not heard."

The contribution of the public school system to the development of this quality has been the constant practice of making it a preferable lot, as a rule, to be ignored rather than to be noticeable. The public schools have helped

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many boys to "find their level" by offering them the somewhat crude alternative of physical discomfort if they fail to do so. Up till recently, however, they have only offered to a very small percentage of boys opportunities of real achievement. It is true that the achievement of winning First Eleven colours, or getting a University scholarship, are made much of; but the boy has to pilgrimage through many years of dreary obscurity before coming within reach of these golden chances. In the past, and occasionally even in the present, public schoolmasters have reiterated with complacent pride that their schools have the remarkable and unusual value of *teaching a boy not to think so much of himself*. This is perfectly true, and in many cases undoubtedly desirable; but one may be permitted to ask whether the necessity for such a practice does not in itself imply the existence of a rather unsatisfactory state of affairs which is being dealt with by a compromise. The boy who from his earliest years has been surrounded by opportunities for achievement, who has been neither crushed nor adored at home, who has never known what it is to have his interest dammed back, and to feel shut in upon himself, to whom work and play have much the same value as possibilities for achievement:

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such a boy rarely, if ever, "needs to find his level," and be taught to think less of himself. The arid but wholesome experience of being ignored need not be associated with the soul-destroying process of being bored, from which spring many of the most catastrophic outbursts of naughtiness and undesirable self-assertion.

It is interesting to realize how, approaching the same problem from vastly different points of view, Dr. Montessori and General Baden-Powell have reached identical solutions, though applied in different spheres. The Boy Scout and the Girl Guide Movements introduce a system of varied possibilities of achievement into the life of the adolescent in just the same way as the Montessori method introduces it into the life of the child.

It has already been pointed out ¹ that education on these lines does not sacrifice the training in attentive control which is directly aimed at by the method of enforced attention. The latter form of training is professedly based on the importance of being able to apply attention to any subject at will. Huxley defined the purpose of education as being "To enable us to do the things we ought to do, when we want to do them, whether we like them or

¹ *v. supra*, p. 28.

not." He might well have extended his definition to thought as well as action. This ideal is an essential factor in all true education; but it is sometimes pursued with all the emphasis on the power of directing and controlling attention, and little heed for the actual quality of the process itself. It calls up the picture of one of the great guns, so perfectly mounted and adjusted that it can be directed with the lightest touch—a wonderful mechanism, but useless if the gun will not fire. Enforced attention often defeats its own object by causing a condition of boredom and frustrated energy, which is not only a waste of time at the moment, but tends to blunt the faculty of attention itself. Recent educational experiments have proved to how great an extent the system of enforced attention creates its own problem, and how the force of spontaneous interest, set free to work on suitable material, encounters its own experience of discipline as it makes its way along the road to achievement.

There could be no more telling criticism of educational conceptions in the past than the fact of our deep-seated conviction that life will express itself as lawlessness; that if we do not exercise a rigid control over the mental activities of the child, they will waste themselves in futility; that if we do not create

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order for the child he will make chaos for himself. Those who hold the opposite view have had to resist a great pressure of common opinion. Mr. Chesterton has seized the element of paradox in this situation, and has devoted some of his most persuasive wit¹ to proving that it is the free and living society that creates for itself the discipline of new institutions; and that it is only when life ebbs away from them that there arises anarchy and death. Monsieur Bergson, by an extraordinary effort of philosophic detachment, has stepped outside the charmed circle of scholasticism, and from this new standpoint watched the creative movement of life itself. The new psychology has taken us back towards the conception of happiness as "unimpeded energy," and has shown that our belief in enforced control is largely the projection of the distrust of our own unconscious energies. Each in his own tongue, many a witness has testified to the necessity for making our thought about human affairs dynamic and not static, vital and not mechanical, in its categories. It is not easy to keep pace with thought on these terms, and to respond to this challenge. Least of all is it easy to accept its implications in education.

¹ Notably in *Orthodoxy* and *Manalive*.

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It makes a great demand upon energy—a demand which can hardly be met by those whose own vital forces are largely repressed. Small wonder if some prefer that the children they teach should exhibit an orderly torpor or a mechanical regularity rather than any unlooked-for or misdirected outburst of energy. The most superficial observation of experiments in auto-education should be enough to convince one that they do not conduce to a mere policy of *laissez faire* on the part of the teacher; but, on the contrary, make new and exacting demands upon him.

There is another aspect of the unnecessary impact between adult authority and the child about which we have much to learn. Our schools are all devised to carry out the wishes of the head master and others. The George Junior Republic in America and the now defunct Little Commonwealth, instituted by Mr. Homer Lane, in England, represent an attempted solution of this problem. It is said that in Russia, since the establishment of the Soviet Government, children were empowered to select their own subjects of study, elect their teachers, and determine the length of their holidays. This state of affairs may only be a malevolent invention of the *Morning Post*, or an unwarranted boast of the *Daily Herald*;

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but if the information is accurate, it is a phenomenon worthy of notice. At various boarding-schools, notably at Oundle under Mr. Sanderson, at Clayesmore under Mr. Devine, and at St. George's School, Harpenden, under Mr. Grant, experiments in auto-education have been carried to notable lengths. The former group mentioned represents the attempt to stimulate character growth by the removal of adult authority: the latter depends more on the attempt to provide interest which shall open the doors of achievement to boys at all stages of their school career. Obviously the second plan is psychologically sounder than the first; for the mere removal of discipline may have a negative effect unless it is associated with a really infectious spirit of achievement, which automatically brings in its train a reconciliation to self-mastery.

The problem of the collision between adult authority and the adolescent has been successfully evaded in certain directions by the prefect system. There is another way in which it may be partly obviated. Too much care is sometimes taken to protect the child of civilization from the conditions which he must sooner or later learn to face on his own responsibility. The modern schoolmaster is not ashamed to put up a notice: "*All boys watch-*

ing the football match must wear overcoats," and to enforce this regulation with punishment. The writer is not disposed to doubt that some boys and girls do need some outward assistance to draw their attention to matters such as this; but he would far rather that the notice should penalize all those boys who had watched the football match and had colds next day. Why punish a boy for not wearing an overcoat when he may be constitutionally able to do without it? And why suggest that the amount of clothing to be worn under any given meteorological conditions is a matter on which he has no more right to discretion than on the choice of school colours?

There is no training that can compare in this way with sea training. Life at sea is the clearest statement of the demand for discipline, not from an external authority, but from the very nature of the situation. There the boy has to realize that he has to ensure, not only his own safety, but the safety of his craft and his crew, by taking thought so that he may not be caught unawares by the forces of Nature. If he ignores the threatening squall, or thinks to increase his comfort by making fast his main sheet; if he forgets his compass or can't be bothered with sounding, the reckon-

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ing has to be made not with adult authority, from which he hopes one day to be emancipated, but with Nature and her forces, whose terms he must always accept. The most elementary experience of boating is enough to teach the boy or girl the fundamental basis of discipline: the impossibility of safeguarding the crew when one member cannot be relied upon to obey promptly.

Furthermore, there are few forms of achievement more valuable than the achievement over natural forces. The boy who has won a boxing contest has undoubtedly achieved something; but the boy who has climbed a lofty and difficult mountain-peak has achieved something still more valuable from the point of view of character-formation. Direct contact with the forces of Nature invariably introduces into achievement the two aspects of conquest and understanding. The mental quality which is expressed at its highest in the respect for personality is being trained by every necessity for understanding the way things work: from humouring the refractory engine to studying the conditions of growth for the plant or animal.

The department of achievement that with many boys and most girls counts for most is the creative; and here again the sense of

achievement is a mingling of conquest and understanding. Different temperaments will find a different degree of satisfaction in these two elements. Both are described by Bergson in an illuminating passage¹: "A noteworthy fact is the extraordinary disproportion between the consequences of an invention and the invention itself. . . . Fabricating consists in shaping matter, in making it supple and bending it, in converting it into an instrument in order to become master of it. It is this *mastery* that profits humanity, much more even than the material result of the invention itself. Though we derive an immediate advantage from the thing made, as an intelligent animal might do, and though this advantage be all that the inventor sought, it is a slight matter compared with the new ideas and the new feelings that the invention may give rise to in every direction, as if the essential part of the effect were to raise us above ourselves, and enlarge our horizon." The last sentence is a convincing statement of the case for giving adequate opportunities of creative achievement to the child at every stage of his development.

¹ *Creative Evolution*, by Henri Bergson. Authorized translation, by Arthur Mitchell, Ph.D. Macmillan & Co., 1920. p. 192 f.

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The expression of the creative impulse is one of the criteria of value which we would apply to the child's achievements; but it is not the only one. Fretwork might satisfy this test to some extent, and provide also training in skill and co-ordination; but the demand for fretwork articles, even in the most appreciative family, is so limited that it is an unsatisfactory form of creation to practise. The criterion of social value has to be applied, in no narrowly utilitarian sense, to the child's forms of self-expression. It is obviously desirable that emotional energy should be sublimated along this line as far as possible. It is an interesting experiment to classify the various forms of achievement offered to the child according to their value, in giving opportunity for the expression of rhythm, self-expression, social value, skill and co-ordination, endurance and understanding; choosing, for example, such occupations as Dalcroze eurhythmics, folk-dancing, chip-carving, sewing, ambulance, sea-training, riding, cross-country running, and cricket.

In laying stress on the development of the individual psyche and the child's right to advance at his own pace and in his own way, it often appears that great practical difficulties must be placed in the way of education. There

is also the danger of exaggerating the importance of individual achievement at the expense of developing loyalty and co-operation. The balance between these two has been wonderfully attained in certain scholastic experiments, notably those at Oundle, where team work plays a very important part. The possibility of individual achievement is indeed very closely bound up with the principle of group work; for it is often only by the division of labour that an end can be accomplished which satisfies the child's sense of achievement, without overtaxing his powers.

The points which have been touched upon in this chapter in connexion with the element of achievement in education illustrate one aspect of education on which it seems to the writer that the student of the new psychology will have gathered convictions. There are other aspects, and perhaps more important ones, on which nothing has been said; but they lie outside the scope of this book, whose purpose it was to help the teacher to gain something of the analytical point of view; and having done that, to draw his own conclusions.

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